DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

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Tools of a Democracy

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Editor's Foreword

The student newspaper of a university which recently was entertaining delegates from other institutions at a tournament in discussion and debate carried the following editorial statement: "A man who talks intelligently and forcefully is a valuable adjunct to democracy." When we consider the dictionary definition of "adjunct"—"something joined to another thing but not essentially a part of it"—we realize that the editor might have chosen his words with greater felicity. Public discussion and debate constitute the *élan vital* of our system of popular government; they are the dynamic essence of democracy.

The authors of this book agree with President Day of Cornell University when he says: "Discipline of the mind is one of the most important disciplines of the free man; for in matters of thought the free society differs fundamentally from the regimented. . . . The free man is aware of the extent to which dogma, prejudice, and self-interest block the path of reason in ordinary thinking. Consequently, he is constantly on guard against error and half truth. . . . The free man cultivates a measure of incredulity and avoids a blind acceptance of tradition and authority. He is prepared to suspend judgment until the available evidence is in and fully weighed. He seeks constantly to be unbiased, objective, fair-minded, intellectually honest; to think freely, critically, clearly. He is humble enough to admit the possibility of his own error and hence is tolerant of the honest thinking of others who disagree with him. . . . He knows that these habits of thought presuppose sustained effort and repeated use of certain intellectual tools—a different discipline of the mind. Yet free men realize that the wide attainment of this

discipline is an indispensable condition for the maintenance and preservation of a free society."

For the authors, the two paramount objectives in the teaching of discussion and debate are: first, to provide the student with a knowledge of and a proficiency in the techniques of effective thinking and speaking on controversial issues; and second, to develop within his mental blood stream those immune bodies which will make him resistant to the virus of falseness and sophistry in those who seek to influence him.

The types of discussion and debate in which the student of this text is to be trained follow the pattern proposed by Herbert Spencer: "In proportion as we love truth more and victory less, we shall become anxious to know what it is that leads our opponents to think as they do; we shall begin to suspect that the pertinacity of belief exhibited by them must result from something we have not perceived, and we shall learn to supplement that portion of truth we have found with the portion found by them." Our authors understand clearly that, in the construction of the mosaic of truth, every particle of knowledge, however small, may be indispensable to the whole. However, they avoid the tempting but fallacious notion that a group of people may put nothing but ignorance and misinformation into the crucible of discussion and debate and yet distill from it the precious precipitate of wisdom.

Having seen this book grow from a vague oral outline, through the various states of its evolution, to its present finished form, I feel sufficiently familiar with it to express an opinion as to its salient contributions to the literature of the field. As I see them, the noteworthy features of the work are:

(1) Discussion and debate are presented, not as rivals for the favor of the educator, but as complementary phases of a single, unitary process. These two variants of speech activity appear in their genetic sequence; discussion properly precedes and prepares the way for debate and neither is complete without the other.

(2) The book is solidly grounded upon the accepted principles of social psychology but the authors have not felt obliged to parade their knowledge of this field in order to prove that they are conversant with it.

(3) The available objective evidence on the effects of discussion

and debate has been summarized and utilized in this book. In this respect it is unique.

(4) The reasoning process is described realistically rather than imaginatively and conventionally. The student is not told that conclusions and decisions on controversial matters are reached by the processes of pure reason or by following the legalistic rules of formal logic. Rather, he is shown how logic serves as the handmaiden of life's driving motivations.

(5) The terminology has been simplified wherever it could be without damage to the treatment of subject matter; this is particularly true in dealing with evidence. Too often, textbooks in argumentation seem to have been constructed on the assumption that teachers of speech are responsible for the indoctrination of their students with much that is of slight value to anyone but a lawyer. They forget that the embryo attorney will have law school courses in evidence.

(6) The arrangement of material is functional throughout; it begins with the recognition of a problem and its analysis, moves through the complicated processes involved in solving the problem, and concludes with the principles and techniques to be observed and employed in "selling" the solution to others.

If it be remarked that this is a large book, the adequate answer is that it is also a complete book. For my part, I do not see how the essentials of the discussion-debate field can be covered satisfactorily in fewer pages; the job is accomplished herein with masterful economy.

Andrew Thomas Weaver

Acknowledgments

In writing a book about discussion and debate we are obviously dealing with subject matter which has concerned rhetoricians at least since the time of Aristotle; thus we may use a "received" terminology and borrow from a pool of ideas created by many minds. To those who have treated this subject in the past, and especially to our own teachers, we are indebted. Our indebtedness to the students in our classes is even greater; they have been reading and testing the materials in these pages for some years. However, a number of our colleagues have made more direct contributions to this book. Andrew T. Weaver, University of Wisconsin, the editor of this series, has patiently and expertly read the entire manuscript. Paul Russell Anderson, Lawrence College; William Norwood Brigance, Wabash College; L. Guy Brown, Oberlin College; Jon Eisenson, Brooklyn College; Robert G. Gunderson, Oberlin College; and Warren W. Shearer, Wabash College, have, by the careful reading of certain chapters, contributed to the final form of the book. While we express our appreciation to each of them, we add the customary assurance that the burden of proof for all statements of fact or opinion rests upon our shoulders alone.

H. L. E.
J. J. A.

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PART I

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CHAPTER I

The Nature of This Book

Discussion and debate are not simply courses in a college curriculum. They are the essential tools of a democratic society. To train students in the intelligent and effective use of these tools is the aim of this book.

In the city of Griffith a few years ago three citizens were talking about taxation. "Taxes are too high!" asserted one. "But," argued another, "if our city government were efficient I wouldn't mind paying high taxes." "Just how can good government be brought about?" challenged the third. At the end of their conversation the three were convinced that Griffith was badly governed. Since nobody seemed to be giving the matter any thought, they constituted themselves a committee to see what could be done about it.

Their first step was to discuss the matter informally with friends they met at luncheons, over bridge tables, at clubs, or at church. When enough people became interested, a Citizens' Non-Partisan League was formed. At the meetings of this League, the members held more formal discussions in an attempt to analyze their civic problems. This, they found, was not a simple task. They needed information about municipal government in other cities; so experts were invited to speak before the group and to answer questions in the forum period which followed their lectures.

After this investigation was completed, it appeared that the best solution to their civic difficulties might be the adoption of a city-manager form of government. Accordingly, this proposal was phrased, "Resolved, that Griffith should adopt a city-manager form of government," and the League held a series of debates in which both the membership and the public were invited to par-

ticipate. At the conclusion of the debates, when the vote was taken, the city-manager plan was endorsed by a substantial majority. The League then decided to work for the official adoption of this plan.

Then followed a petition for a referendum on this question at the next election and an active campaign in support of the proposed reform. In the course of this campaign, there were informal discussions, speeches, and public debates. The voters favored the proposal and today Griffith has a city manager. The League has now turned its attention to a program of civic education. It investigates new problems as they arise, conducts a series of public discussions and debates, and occasionally recommends a course of action to the voters.

This picture is not an isolated one. The story of Griffith is being re-enacted in hundreds of cities and villages where folks still maintain their faith in the processes of democracy. With this increasing realization that the problems of government are the voters' problems, there is a growing need for citizens who can lead, as well as participate in, the discussions and debates that should precede action on suggested reforms.

To show the significance of the approach to discussion and debate on which this book is based, we refer once more to what happened in Griffith. There were, you will recall, two definite stages in the activities of the League members: (1) *investigation* of the problems that confronted them, and (2) *decision* as to the best solution. It should be noted, moreover, that, in the particular situation cited, the decision stage was not only concerned with finding the best solution for the problem but also with securing the acceptance of that solution by the voters of Griffith. Schematically represented, these two stages of investigation and decision appear this way:

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investigation > decision

As we examine the story more closely we find that these two stages are really subdivided into five separate steps:

(1) locating and defining the problem;
(2) exploring the problem;
(3) examining suggested solutions;

(4) choosing the best solution;
(5) securing acceptance of the selected solution.

Adding these to our diagram makes it look like this:

DISCUSSION AND DEBATE

investigation > decision

(1) locating and defining the problem
(2) exploring the problem
(3) examining suggested solutions
(4) choosing the best solution
(5) securing acceptance of the selected solution

These five steps, of course, are those followed in the complete process of discussion and debate. In the stage of investigation, different types of *discussion* are employed; while, in the process of decision, some form of *debate* is used. Thus we really have a continuum of *discussion* (investigation) and *debate* (decision), along which is ranged public thinking from the initial awareness of a problem to the final decision as to the best solution.

This same pattern of investigation and decision is also followed by the individual when he employs what is known as the process of "reflective thinking." When this procedure is followed collectively by numbers of people, it is sometimes referred to as "group thinking."

For efficiency in our study of discussion and debate this book has been divided into five parts, each dealing with an important element in the training for intelligent and effective use of these essential tools of a democratic society.

We shall first investigate the relationship of democracy to discussion and debate, and the historical development of discussion and debate. Then, to get a personal orientation toward our subject, we shall examine the way in which individuals think. (See Part I, "Establishing a Point of View.")

Following this, we shall study the steps of investigation and decision already referred to: (1) locating and defining the problem, (2) exploring the problem, (3) examining suggested solutions, and (4) choosing the best solution. Because the fifth step, securing acceptance of the selected solution, is not usually taken until we have an audience or a group of listeners, we shall delay our consideration of it until after we have studied the listener. (See Part II, "The Problem.")

Next we shall turn our attention to the audience or the listener in the discussion or debate situation. Here we shall study the ways in which individuals think in group situations, the characteristics of the average audience, and a method of analyzing the specific audience. Finally we shall consider the use of persuasion in discussion and debate situations and its importance in securing acceptance of the selected solution of a problem. (See Part III, "The Listener.")

Then we shall be prepared to study discussion as a method of presentation, taking up first the nature, purpose, and limitations of discussion, and then specific discussion types: the informal group discussion, the panel-forum, the symposium-forum, the lecture-forum, and so on. In this connection, we shall also investigate the role of the leader in discussion, participation and style in discussion, and means of evaluating discussion. (See Part IV, "Discussion.")

Lastly, we shall study the debate as a method of presentation, considering the nature, purpose, and limitations of debate, examining the various forms of debate, and the special problems related to debating: building the case, the debate speech, and refutation. Finally we will investigate means of evaluating debate. (See Part V, "Debate.")

Through such a plan of study, we may come to learn more of the problems of leadership and participation in discussion and debate, and be better trained to make intelligent and effective use of these essential tools of a democratic society.

CHAPTER II

Democracy, Discussion, and Debate

key 1) freedom of speech
2) freedom of assembly

The *Standard Dictionary* tells us that democracy is "government directly by the people collectively." Such a definition suits our purpose admirably, provided we understand that, in order to have a successful government by the "people collectively," we also need complete freedom for the expression of variant political opinions by the people individually.

This primary requisite for a successful democracy was recognized by the founders of our nation who incorporated in the Constitution guarantees of the two keystones of public discussion, freedom of speech and of assembly. From time to time we have been tempted to curtail these constitutional rights but, in general, we have held to the view expressed by the late Justice Holmes in the trial of Rosika Schwimmer: "If there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate."

To follow this course has not always been an easy task, nor is it becoming any easier, for the ultimate question has yet to be answered—"How far can a minority exercise its right of free speech in advocating the overthrow of constituted government?" The Germany of the Weimar Constitution could never bring itself to answer that question decisively, although it tended to accept the doctrine set forth by John Stuart Mill in his *Essay on Liberty* that there is no time and no place when suppression of free speech may be justified.

This freedom for discussion and debate is essentially the only

type of freedom which differentiates a democracy from a dictatorship. There are others, but their maintenance invariably depends upon freedom of discussion and debate. When that democratic force is destroyed, the other freedoms are also doomed. We share with peoples of Germany, Italy and Russia other forms of physical and intellectual force, but in a democracy alone do we find free and vigorous discussion and debate. This means, of course, that in a democracy the force of discussion and debate is available not only to the educated and intelligent citizens, but likewise to the uneducated and unintelligent. If it is forgotten or neglected by the intelligent, civic-minded citizens, demagogues and would-be dictators may abuse the privilege of free speech to gain their own selfish ends.

Here in America, we have already seen freedom of speech abused by the unscrupulous when over five million people may be won to a "Share the Wealth" movement headed by a Louisiana politician, eight and a half million people follow a Detroit radio priest into a "Union for Social Justice," and more than twice that number demand "Two Hundred Dollars a Month" under the gentle shepherding of a California doctor. "But," it may be exclaimed, "these men are demagogues and charlatans!" That is precisely the point we wish to make clear—if the educated and intelligent citizens do not intelligently use these great forces of discussion and debate the demagogues will, whether they be the "Coin" Harveys or the "Great White Chief" Vardamanns of yesterday, or the Huey Longs, the Father Coughlins, and the Dr. Townsends of today.

When intelligent citizens, on the other hand, make use of discussion and debate, the result is a genuine social contribution to the settling of public problems. One such example is to be found in the establishment of a "parliament of public opinion" in the city of San Francisco through the joint efforts of the Committee for Industrial Organization, representing employees, and the Committee of Forty-three, representing employers. Before a representative audience of twelve thousand persons, meeting in the Civic Auditorium, the points of view of both groups involved in San Francisco's labor problems were presented frankly and without bitterness. It must be apparent that such methods of arriving at

peaceful solutions for the city's industrial-relations problems are infinitely superior to less democratic means.[1]

If the citizen of today hopes to prevent the coming of a time when the only "free" discussion is that of the "Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment" he will seek to understand and to use this basic force of the democratic process. By its use he may hope to build the ideal democracy of James Bryce, where "every citizen is intelligent, patriotic, disinterested. His sole wish is to discover the right side on each contested issue, and to fix upon the best man among competing candidates. His common sense, aided by a knowledge of the constitution of his country, enables him to judge wisely between the arguments submitted to him, while his own zeal is sufficient to carry him to the polling booth." [2]

This then is our democracy—a type of human social organization in which every citizen plays an important part. It is a type of organization, moreover, in which every citizen assumes an obligation, the duty of being informed on the problems confronting that society. As one editorialist has phrased it, "Democracy is a spirit of social behavior, not a particular device of government. Refusing to give arbitrary authority to privilege, force, cunning, or chance power, it relies on free inquiry and free consensus of opinion and judgment. It would distribute responsibility and opportunity in proportion, for use in the public interest." [3]

I. Why Does Democracy Need a Special Technique?

We have said that every citizen should make intelligent use of the essential tools of a democracy, discussion and debate, if he is to fulfill his obligations as a member of our democratic society. More specifically, there appear to be at least three distinct reasons why the citizen of today especially needs to make use of these tools: (a) the expanding scope of government activity, (b) the growth of extremist groups, and (c) the gradual departure from purely

1. For a detailed account of this civic use of public discussion see "A New Plan for Labor Peace," New York *Times*, June 12, 1938, Section IV, p. 10.

2. From his introduction to M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties* (New York, 1902), vol. I, p. xliv.

3. *Antioch (Ohio) Notes*, April 15, 1937.

representative government. A brief review of these changing factors in our society may clarify this position.

A. The Expanding Scope of Government Activity

First of these special developments is the expanding area of governmental activity. Problems which ten years ago were considered outside the sphere of government—or, at least, solely within the province of the states—are today dealt with by the national government. And in most cases we take it for granted that these problems rightfully fall within the field of governmental activity. Ten years ago, for example, how many voters would have accepted the idea that the problem of slum clearance and the erection of good, cheap houses belonged to the national government? Or, who would have subscribed to the principle that it is the government's responsibility to provide a nation-wide program intended to insure security in old age, or in periods of unemployment? Few persons, during the Booming Twenties, could have foretold that the federal government would attempt to resolve by legislation such problems as collective bargaining, unfair trade practices, the "right to strike," and the right to be supported by federal relief while striking.

While there are many citizens who do not believe that certain of these problems should be handled by the national government, the trend is a growing one, and there are few indications that the scope of governmental activity will lessen. This means that the interest of the electorate in government must increase as the interest of the government in its citizens increases. The more influence the government has upon our personal lives the more essential it would seem to be that we become better acquainted with the problems of government. As media for obtaining this knowledge we have the press, and discussion and debate; of these, discussion and debate are often the more accessible to the average voter. Likewise discussion and debate are often the more valuable since they most directly encourage individual thought and promote the cooperative exchange of information and ideas.

B. The Growth of Extremist Groups

A second special development is the growing proportion of what Theodore Roosevelt once labeled the "lunatic fringe," a generic term which he used to embrace the extremists at the far end of the

Tool of evaluation

accepted line of political and economic philosophy. We are accustomed to labeling these groups as "radicals," although we well know that what is an unorthodox view today may become the accepted view tomorrow. For, although one of the basic tenets of democracy is that the majority shall rule, still another is that the minority shall have the right to exercise its freedom of speech, press, and assembly in an effort to become the majority.

These extremist groups are growing in number, as seems always to be the case following a depression, and each group adheres strictly to its own panacea which it believes will cure all of the nation's economic and social ills. Reference has already been made to certain of these groups which advocate policies as antithetical as "Share the Wealth" and "return to the good old days." From the tolling of the Liberty League bell to the vibrant tune of the "Internationale" this chorus beats upon the ear of the body politic and if the intelligent citizen is to listen discriminatingly he must find some way to tell the good voices from the bad. He must find and use some tools of analysis and evaluation. Such tools, we believe, are discussion and debate. must be selective

This does not mean that discussion and debate are shrouded in the tattered robes of tradition, or that they lead to that false liberalism whose adherents are so "*open*-minded" that they cannot make up their minds. Rather, they are techniques for careful analysis of all points of view to the end that the voter may make up his mind on a rational, analytical basis. training decision

C. The Gradual Departure from a Purely Representative Government

The third special development is also a new stage in a long-continuing trend in government. This is the still progressing evolution from a representative type of government with semi-independent legislators to one in which the representatives of the electorate have become "legislative mouthpieces" for their constituents.

When the Constitution was written, its framers established, for well-known reasons, a representative form of government, envisioning the sending of representatives to the national legislature to exercise their own best judgment in the management of national affairs. One important consideration was that existing systems of

communication and transportation rendered any immediate and direct pressure upon a legislator by his constituents virtually impossible. This feature of the Constitution was in conformity with the then current English practice, so well set forth by Edmund Burke in 1774 when he bluntly told his Bristol constituents what he conceived to be the difference between representative government and direct government through representatives.

Your representative owes you not his industry only, but his judgment; and he betrays, instead of serving you, if he sacrifices it to your opinion. . . . If government were a matter of will upon any side, yours without question ought to be superior. But government and legislation are matters of reason and judgment, not of inclination; and what sort of reason is that, in which the determination precedes the discussion; in which one set of men deliberate and another decide? . . . . To deliver an opinion is the right of all men; that of constituents is a weighty and respectable opinion, which a representative ought always rejoice to hear; and which he ought always most seriously consider. But *authoritative* instructions, mandates issued, which the member is bound blindly and implicitly to obey . . . these are things utterly unknown to the laws of this land, and which arise from a fundamental mistake of the whole order and tenor of our constitution. Parliament is not a *congress* of ambassadors from different and hostile interests; which interests each must maintain, as an agent and advocate, against other agents and advocates; but parliament is a *deliberative* assembly of one nation, with one interest, that of the whole; where not local purposes, not local prejudices ought to guide, but the general good, resulting from the general reason of the whole.[4]

In practice most of our legislators have tended to follow the theory of representation set forth by Abraham Lincoln when he was a candidate for re-election to the Illinois State legislature in 1836. At that time he said, in a letter to the editor of the *Sangamon Journal:*

If elected I shall consider the whole people of Sangamon my constituents, as well those that oppose as those that support me.

While acting as their representative, I shall be governed by their will on all subjects upon which I have the means of knowing what

4. See F. W. Raffety, ed., *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke* (London, 1906), vol. II, pp. 159–166. On this basis Burke was re-elected for six years, but then lost his seat even as his doctrine lost its force in government.

their will is; and upon all others, I shall do what my own judgment teaches me will best advance their interests.[5]

Whether we regard Lincoln's theory or Burke's as the most valid, the development of democracy in America has nevertheless brought about a gradual change in our concept of representative government. Congressmen today do not always regard legislation as "matters of reason and judgment" but are likely, rather, to vote in accordance with the latest expression of opinion from "the folks back home." And this opinion, through the several media of telegrams, letters, and penny postcards, is made manifest seven days in every legislative week. Indeed, as we have already suggested, one of the largest factors in bringing about this changed concept has been the development of modern methods of communication, making it possible for a voter to read his representative's Monday speech in Congress and have his personal reaction to it in the representative's hands by Tuesday morning.

Thus we find that today each Senator and Representative is subjected to more careful scrutiny and more immediate pressure by his constituents, and hence he is increasingly likely to shelve his own best judgment and to vote in accordance with the dictates of his "ground ear." The effect is not unlike that described by Uncle Joe Cannon when he said of William McKinley that "he kept his ear so close to the ground that it frequently got full of grasshoppers." It was in conformance with this growing tendency that former Senator Ashurst of Arizona once expressed his basic rule for political success, "Never buy a railroad ticket until you hear the whistle blow!"

These, then, are the trends of today which, because the voter has accepted them, obligate him to become well informed on a vast number of national problems of government so that he may make intelligent decisions and vote in accordance with them. As we have pointed out, there appears little likelihood that any of these trends will be reversed. It is especially unlikely that the trend toward a more personalized government—in the sense that each voter exercises direct pressure upon his representative—will be halted, and, this being so, the individual voter cannot avoid the responsibility which these trends impose. If the democratic process

5. See Philip Van Doren Stern, ed., *The Life and Writings of Abraham Lincoln* (New York, 1940), p. 225.

is to be maintained the primary task is that of "training men for citizenship in a great republic," with all of the responsibility which the word citizenship implies.

Speaking at the University of Virginia in 1934, President Franklin D. Roosevelt emphasized this need. "The necessities of our time," he said, "demand that men avoid being set in grooves . . . that in the face of change and development in America, they must have a sufficiently broad and comprehensive conception of the world in which they live to meet its changing problems with resourcefulness and practical vision. . . . Every form of co-operative human endeavor cries out for men and women who, in their thinking processes, will know something of the broader aspects of any given problem."

Acknowledging that the way of democracy is the way of broad and intelligent participation in government by every citizen, we are faced with the problem of finding and utilizing techniques for effecting that participation; for, while democracy is a way of life and a spirit of social behavior, it requires techniques which will encourage every citizen to participate in government to the limit of his ability.

Such techniques as are now used are primarily those of skillful electioneering, propaganda and salesmanship, with all of the importance which mental stereotypes, emotional biases, rationalization, wishful thinking, and sheer ignorance assume in such procedures.

There are alternative ways out: James Truslow Adams would resolve the problem facing the voter by having him confine his interests to matters of state and local affairs,[6] Walter Lippmann would have the government operate an information service and distribute expert advice on political problems,[7] while others would seek by varied means to restrict or direct the action of the electorate.

Still another technique, which would by no means preclude the exercise of those mentioned, is that of encouraging participation in public discussion and debate. This means of encouraging enlightened and intelligent citizenship is not, *per se*, an infallible procedure,

6. See "The Voter: His Rights and Duties," *Yale Review*, Autumn, 1932, pp. 19–34.

7. See Walter Lippmann. *Public Opinion* (New York, 1928), pp. 369–418.

but it is one in which both expert and lay opinions and ideas may be exchanged through a co-operative process for the resolving of common problems in a way that is essentially that of democracy.

The method of discussion and debate, which is sometimes referred to as "group thinking," is not designed to win preference for any particular point of view, but rather to seek out the best solution for a given problem. Properly used, this method places the emphasis on sound reasoning based upon valid evidence, regardless of the conclusions to which that reasoning tends. Its direct attack is upon muddled thinking. It is the antithesis of the attitude of the reputed group of scholars in the Middle Ages who were discussing at some length the question of whether a horse had teeth in both his upper and lower jaws. When some lad was so bold as to go out and procure a horse for examination, they promptly expelled him from their group! The method of discussion and debate is that of "examining the horse." The same may be said of the scientific method employed in the laboratory. For that reason we believe that discussion and debate, in the field of social science, provides a technique by means of which the scientific method may be applied to the processes of democracy.

II. The Technique of Discussion and Debate and the Scientific Method

A. What Is the Scientific Method?

In discussing the application of scientific method to the processes of democracy, it should be borne in mind that we are not here elevating discussion and debate to the status of a distinct procedural philosophy such as pragmatism or empiricism. This fact we shall explain in detail later when we consider the differences between scientific method and the discussion and debate technique, but the premise needs to be clear as we analyze the scientific method.

In brief we may say that the method of science is experimentation, a procedure which integrates theory and practice by (1) *inquiry* into the available facts concerning a given problem, followed by the articulation of a (2) *hypothesis*, or theoretical solution, which is used as the basis for (3) *experiment*, or practical application of the theory, from the results of which a (4) *conclusion*, which may or may not validate the hypothesis, is drawn.

A detailed analysis of the scientific method in operation would show that, in the procedure just outlined, most or all of the following factors are present:

(1) A recognized problem, properly located, defined, and limited.
(2) A body of facts concerning the problem derived from observation and inquiry.
(3) A set of principles or laws, applicable to the problem at hand, which have been established by previous scientific investigation.
(4) A knowledge of the basic laws of logic which may be used to establish or verify claimed or acknowledged relationships.
(5) A hypothesis or predicted solution set up on the basis of observation, analysis, and inference.
(6) Experimentation in which the hypothesis is applied to the problem for the purpose of determining its practicability or validity. (In the realm of social problems experiment is usually impossible in its strictest scientific sense so that a substitution of careful rechecking of facts, further observation, and final analysis is necessary.)
(7) A conclusion reached as a result of the experimentation concerning the validity of the original hypothesis or predicted solution.

Applied to the processes of democracy such a method should improve current procedures of resolving social problems on the basis of "tradition, self-interest, and accidental circumstance." It was to such scientific procedures that John Dewey referred when he wrote:

> In spite, then, of all the records of the past, the great scientific revolution is still to come. It will ensue when men collectively and cooperatively organize their knowledge for application to achieve and make secure social values; when they systematically use scientific procedures for the control of human relationships and the direction of the social effects of our vast technological machinery. Great as have been the social changes of the last century, they are not to be compared with those which will ensue when our faith in scientific method is made manifest in social works.[8]

8. John Dewey, *Philosophy and Civilization*, "Science and Society" (New York, 1931), pp. 329–330. By permission of Minton, Balch & Company, publishers.

An example of the way in which these methods of science may be applied in the resolving of contemporary problems is the development of legislative research bureaus. These agencies, as they are now constituted in a number of states, are designed to work in conjunction with state legislatures in analyzing public problems and preparing legislative bills to solve them. Mention may be made here of the Kansas Legislative Council, a typical agency of this sort.

Some years ago Kansans felt the need for a more scientific method of drafting legislative measures to replace the often slipshod and hasty procedures then followed. As Sam Wilson, manager of the Kansas State Chamber of Commerce, put it:

> If an automobile company operated the way a state legislature does, you'd see cars broken down all along the road; they'd put out a newfangled engine without first making sure it would work. That's the way we now make a law—on guesses or opinions, with no facts. No one knows if it will work, or *how*—and yet laws are the things we live by. . . . I say a proposed law should be treated as scientifically as the materials they test in the Bureau of Standards.[9]

The result of their thinking on this subject was the establishment of the Kansas Legislative Council, a bipartisan group of regularly elected members of the state legislature who work together with an independent staff of research experts headed by a professor of political science of the University of Kansas.

When a legislator submits a project to his colleagues it is referred first to the regular committee of the House and then to the research staff. The research experts then analyze the problem presented and study the experience of other legislatures in handling the same or similar problems. Finally, they submit a thorough report covering their findings, together with recommendations for action. These reports are made available not only to members of the Kansas legislature, but also to newspapers and to any citizen who desires them. In this way the voters are able to participate in intelligent discussion and debate with full knowledge of all of the available facts concerning the case at hand. By such applications of the scientific method to democratic processes Kansas has helped make democracy more workable.

9. See Fred Kelly, "Government by Test-Tube," *Current History*, February, 1939, pp. 35–36.

B. What Are the Differences between the Scientific Method and the Technique of Discussion and Debate?

Certain essential differences between the scientific method and the technique of discussion and debate may be characterized here on the basis of (1) those who use them, (2) the fields in which they operate, (3) the end results of their application, and (4) the degree of applicability of the end results.

1. *On the basis of those who use them* we find the first major difference between scientific method and the discussion and debate technique. The former is usually reserved for the use of those who are experts in their particular fields. The discussion and debate technique, on the other hand, not only avails itself of expert information but also encourages the layman to express his individual opinions and to crystallize his individual conceptions through a co-operative exchange of information and ideas.

2. *According to the fields in which they operate* we also find a significant difference: scientific methods of investigation are followed in areas of relatively unchanging phenomena, such as the laws of physics, while the technique of investigation by discussion and debate is used in areas of constantly varying factors. In one sense the scientific method is concerned with static phenomena of nature while the discussion and debate technique is concerned with a dynamic society. Hence we may find that a conclusion reached by the method of science is characterized by its permanency; a conclusion reached by the technique of discussion and debate is characterized by its temporary applicability. The phenomena upon which Newton's laws of gravitation were based have not changed in almost three centuries; the political conditions upon which a foreign policy for the United States is based, however, change every few weeks in critical periods.

3. *Judged by their end results* another difference is apparent between the scientific method and the discussion and debate technique. The area in which the scientific method is employed is, as we have just seen, one in which, for all practical purposes, the observable phenomena are uniform, exact, and unchanging. Because of this, investigation by the use of the scientific method results in the establishment of a *probability*. This probability can usually be verified by a controlled experiment. The area in which

the discussion and debate technique is employed, however, is one of constantly varying factors. The "raw materials" are not constant, precise, or static. Thus the result of investigation by the discussion and debate technique is the establishment of an *opinion*. This difference in the end results of the two procedures is easily illustrated. If a chemist is instructed to create a new plastic compound, he may develop a formula (hypothesis) for the combination of certain chemicals and establish a high probability that the desired plastic will result. His "raw materials" are sufficiently uniform and constant to permit a prediction. In a discussion group, however, a careful analysis of the problem of industrial relations in a given city may establish only an opinion that a certain solution (hypothesis) will be efficacious in meeting the problem.

4. *The varying degrees of the applicability of their results* presents the final major difference between the scientific method and the discussion and debate technique. The scientific method may demonstrate that a particular belief or action is advisable for all people and for all times and places. But a particular belief or action indicated as advisable after the use of the discussion and debate technique may apply only to certain people and to certain times and places. An experiment performed in Berlin by a German physicist may be reproduced in a Chicago laboratory with exactly the same results, but the determination of a policy for taxation by the citizens of Berlin may be radically different from one adopted by the citizens of Chicago, since the exact factors motivating the Berlin decision are not likely to be operating in Chicago.

III. How May the Scientific Method Be Applied to the Processes of Democracy?

Alexander Meiklejohn has said that "So far as minds are concerned, the art of democracy is the art of thinking independently together." [10] That is, the art of democracy is the art of integrating the results of independent, individual thinking into a consensus which represents the best thoughts of all individuals. It is primarily in developing this art of thinking together independently through the techniques of discussion and debate, that the scientific method

10. Alexander Meiklejohn, "Teachers and Controversial Questions," *Harpers*, June, 1938, p. 19.

may be applied to the processes of democracy. For reasons which have been implicit throughout our earlier analysis, it is apparent that the scientific method cannot be applied, *in toto*, in the solution of public problems. Rather, it is the discussion and debate technique based upon scientific procedures which should be applied to the democratic processes of social inquiry and judgment.

These processes are, in reality, a continuum of investigation and decision—investigation of a problem, the awareness of which is felt, until a decision is made on a solution. Inquiry, says John Dewey, "is the directed or controlled transformation of an indeterminate situation into a determinately unified one," and such inquiry anticipates a solution or ultimate judgment which "may be identified as the settled outcome of inquiry. It is concerned with the concluding objects that emerge from inquiry in their status of being conclusive." [11]

It is along this continuum of inquiry and judgment, or investigation and decision, that discussion and debate is ranged. Specifically, the discussion and debate technique follows five logical steps of reflective thinking which incorporate the essentials of the scientific method:

(1) locating and defining the problem;
(2) exploring the problem;
(3) examining suggested solutions;
(4) choosing the best solution;
(5) securing acceptance of the selected solution.

The more commonly employed types of discussion and debate, with which we shall deal in later sections of this book, are such that they may be used at each of the several steps of this continuum of free social inquiry and judgment for the solution of public problems.

That we may successfully adapt the method of science to the processes of democracy we must become thoroughly acquainted with the basic factors of any discussion or debate situation. These are: (1) the problem, or subject matter, (2) the listener, or fellow participant, and (3) the specific type of discussion or debate which the speaker employs.

11. For a detailed explanation of this view we are indebted to John Dewey, *Logic: the Theory of Inquiry* (New York, 1938), especially "The Pattern of Inquiry," and "The Construction of Judgment," pp. 101–138.

This book is built around a study of these three factors. With a working knowledge of them the reader may fashion new tools for effecting the processes of his democracy and develop for himself the "art of thinking and discussing independently together."

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EXERCISES

1. Prepare a three-minute speech which will show the relationship of one of the following statements to the subject matter of this chapter:

   (a) "Century after century, millions of dead Egyptians were eviscerated by the embalmers—and the living Egyptians learned no pathology. . . . The priest-physician was a hybrid that could not survive; the priest conquered the physician and medicine succumbed in the enfolding arms of magic." (Victor Robinson, *The Story of Medicine*, p. 26.)

   (b) "The world is not divided into scientific people and unscientific people, but rather into groups of problems for which our general culture provides us with a scientific or unscientific approach." (Edward S. Robinson, *Law and the Lawyers*, p. 8.)

   (c) Arguing that medicine cannot afford to remain merely a science of observation but that it must be carried forward by experimentation Claude Bernard has said: "A fact is noted; apropos of

this fact, an idea is born; in the light of this idea, an experiment is devised, its material conditions imagined and brought to pass; from this experiment, new phenomena result which must be observed, and so on and so forth." (Quoted by Hans Zinsser, *As I Remember Him*, p. 126.)

(d) To his Uvalde, Texas, constituents former Vice-President John Garner used to say:
"Re-elect me and I'll go up there and do the best I can for you, so long as that is also the best for the country as I see it. As to details, you'll have to trust my judgment. Don't wire or write me to support some bill just because the word is passed around for you to devil your congressman. Even if you've read the bill you won't know what it'll be like when it comes to a vote. I'll vote to do what I think is right." (Marquis James, "Poker-Playing, Whisky-Drinking, Evil Old Man!" *Saturday Evening Post*, September 9, 1939, p. 66.)

(e) "I have in my mail a query from a woman who wants to know if, instead of telegraphing congressmen and senators, when she wants to register an opinion on any subject, it would not do as well to send a postcard. I think if you can possibly afford it, a letter will probably receive more consideration, but I do think it is important that you register your opinions on subjects of importance to all the people. After all, that is democracy in action, isn't it?" (Eleanor Roosevelt, "My Day," Chicago *Sunday Times*, August 25, 1940, p. 25.)

(f) "The purpose of discussion, then, is to give you and your fellow members of the group an opportunity to find out first of all what you think. After that you have the opportunity to test your thinking—to see whether it is as good as you thought, or perhaps better.

"The testing of your thinking comes in allowing persons to examine your ideas, to weigh your reasons and conclusions. You will welcome this testing if you can remember one thing: the other members of the group are not criticizing you but rather your logic. Try to put your ideas out in front of you and to look at them as carefully as you would at someone else's ideas." (*How to Discuss*, Town Hall Advisory Service Publication, p. 5.)

(g) "It is an erroneous impression, fostered by sensational popular biography, that scientific discovery is often made by inspiration —a sort of *coup de foudre*—from on high. This is rarely the case. Even Archimedes' sudden inspiration in the bathtub; Newton's experience in the apple orchard; Descartes' geometrical discov-

eries in his bed; Darwin's flash of lucidity on reading a passage in Malthus; Kekule's vision of the closed carbon ring which came to him on top of a London bus; and Einstein's brilliant solution of the Michelson puzzle in the patent office in Berne, were not messages out of the blue. They were the final co-ordinations, by minds of genius, of innumerable accumulated facts and impressions which lesser men could grasp only in their uncorrelated isolation, but which—by them—were seen in entirety and integrated into general principles." (Hans Zinsser, *As I Remember Him*, pp. 331–332, New York, 1940. By permission of Little, Brown & Company, publishers.)

2. Select a current public problem: write a 500-word article illustrating the way in which a solution might be discovered by applying the scientific method. Outline the methodology you would employ.

3. Organize a series of short speeches by members of the class on the question "What is freedom of speech?" Let each speaker deal with one of these questions: (a) Are we protecting our own freedom to speak when we insist upon that right for those with whom we disagree? (b) Should the same freedom of speech be extended to the layman as to the expert? (c) Can we safeguard democracy and still encourage critical analysis of accepted ideas and ways of doing things? (d) Is there a line to be drawn beyond which speech should not be free? (e) Is the scientific method in fundamental conflict with the principle of majority rule? Following the speeches let the other members of the class discuss the ideas presented.

4. Listen to or read a printed transcript of a public discussion or debate from the list in the Appendix. Determine how many of the seven factors in the scientific method, as outlined in this chapter, were present. Could the discussion have been improved by more attention to any one of them?

5. On the basis of your own observations or from your reading prepare a three-minute speech illustrating any one of the three reasons cited in this chapter for the need of a special technique for effecting democracy.

6. From discussions or debates you have heard cite examples of the four differences between the scientific method and the technique of discussion and debate.

CHAPTER III

The Development of Discussion and Debate

In form and organization, and sometimes in its functioning, the American way of government might well be labeled "cracker-barrel democracy." Of course it is true that propagandists, special interests, pressure groups, and even men in a "smoke-filled room" have sometimes determined our public policies. Some people say this has been more true in recent times than in the earlier days of the Republic. But, essentially, the foundations of the democratic process in America have always been typified by the vigorous but tolerant discussions which take place around the cracker barrel in the country grocery store. As times and methods of communication have changed, the extent and the form of discussion and debate among our citizens has also changed, but the general pattern has been constant. We have always tried—with varying degrees of success—to determine the ultimate good for our whole people by encouraging free trade in ideas, believing, as Justice Holmes once said, "that the best test of truth is the power of thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market." As an appropriate preliminary to an analysis of the way in which these tools may be employed most effectively in our democracy, we propose in this chapter to trace the historical development of discussion and debate as vital processes in our society.

I. The Growth of Discussion and Debate in America

When the Mayflower Compact was drawn up by forty-one adult male Pilgrims as their ship lay in Plymouth Harbor, its articles were

adopted "by the most voices." This was the simple transference of the democratic process to what are now forty-eight United States.

A. The New England Town Meeting

One of the first needs of these early colonists was a forum in which all might freely participate and where "the most voices" might find their expression. Out of this need grew the New England town meeting, the status of which was insured by Article 12 of the *Massachusetts Body of Liberties* adopted in 1641:

> Everyman whether Inhabitant or Forreiner, free or not free, shall have libertie to come to any publique Court, Council, or Towne meeting, and either by speech or writeing to move any lawfull, seasonable, any materiall question, or to present any necessary motion, complaint, petition, or Bill of Information.

Although it was often hedged about by restrictions, such as the early limitation of the right of voting to freemen, and the fact that final action was often reserved to the royal governor and his council, the town meeting spread throughout New England. In the Southern colonies a more representative type of government was begun in the early days, even though men like Thomas Jefferson worked for the adoption of town meetings in the South, saying of them that "those wards called Townships in New England, are the vital principle of their governments, and have proved themselves the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and its preservation." [1]

A typical town meeting has been described by Professor J. F. Sly who says that in Dorchester, Mass., October 8, 1633, was adopted what was perhaps the first "home rule" document in the history of American institutions.[2] Every Monday morning at eight o'clock the beating of a drum announced the town meeting. A steering committee of twelve men, without any other special authority, prepared in advance a slate of topics to be dealt with so that people could give some thought to them before coming to the meeting. Everyone came—attendance was compulsory and absentees paid a fine! When a vote was taken the citizens dropped

1. Quoted by James K. Hosmer, *Samuel Adams* (Boston, 1885), p. 429.
2. See J. F. Sly, *Town Government in Massachusetts* (Cambridge, 1930).

grain into a box—a kernel of wheat was an affirmative vote and a kernel of corn was negative!

The meetings were attended by the cantankerous as well as by the co-operative people of the community, and the debates often yielded heat as well as light. As Ralph Waldo Emerson said of them, ". . . their records reflect vindictiveness, petulance and ignorance as faithfully as sympathy, temperance and wisdom. For here was no 'church of saints' or 'metropolis of patriots' but an open democracy where every human feeling found expression." [3]

The history of the New England town meeting is inextricably interwoven with the story of the American Revolution. The Committees of Correspondence were the clearing houses for ideas resulting from discussions in widespread town meetings, and those meetings were the forums for protest against English rule. As early as October 5, 1772, Samuel Adams—already famous as a mediator in town meetings—urged his countrymen to "converse together upon the most interesting subject, and open our minds freely to each other. Let it be the topic of conversation in every social club. Let every Town assemble. Let Associations and Combinations be everywhere set up to consult and recover our just Rights." He himself was a leader in the Boston Caucus Club, founded by his father. There a private "town meeting" was held and, as John Adams righteously recorded, "they smoke tobacco till you cannot see from one end of the garrett to another [and] they drink flip, I suppose. . . ." But whatever their minor vices, the agitators of the American Revolution received their training and formulated the policies which were to result in union, in the Caucus Club and the town meetings. As one Tory of the day wrote:

> The town-meeting at Boston is the hot-bed of sedition. It is there that all their dangerous insurrections are engendered; it is there that the flame of discord and rebellion was first lighted up and disseminated over the provinces; it is therefore greatly to be wished that Parliament may rescue the loyal inhabitants of that town and province from the merciless hand of the ignorant mob, led on and inflamed by self-interested and profligate men.[4]

3. Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Historical Discourse, at Concord, on the Second Centennial Anniversary of the incorporation of the town," September 12, 1845.

4. "Sagittarius," quoted by Richard Frothingham, "The Sam Adams Regiments in the Town of Boston," *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1863, p. 601.

Boston did not change to a city government until 1822, and many other town meetings were still in existence as late as 1850. A number of small New England towns still carry on the custom of the town meeting,[5] but it has generally proved awkward and unwieldy as a governmental device when dealing with the large populations and the specialized and multiplied functions of city government today. As "little democracies" in the early days of New England, however, they served their purpose. There the citizen "laid his mind alongside the minds of his neighbors and discussed with them the incidents of the day and the tendencies of the times."

B. The Constitutional Debates

As the fundamental processes of democracy were initiated in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century town meetings, so was the incorporation of these processes into a scheme for federal union born out of the Constitutional debates of 1787–8. Historically, it is incorrect to speak of this period as the one of "The Great Debate." Actually there were two great debates—the first behind the closed doors of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, when the actual document was being framed, and the other in the street-corner discussions, on the public platform, and in the state conventions when the Constitution's supporters sought its ratification. And all the while, the public and private presses were turning out pamphlets, books, and letters which added their force to the debates.

When the delegates to the Constitutional Convention assembled in Philadelphia, May, 1787, they represented most of the best political thought of the thirteen states. Among the delegates were at least twenty-eight who had served in Congress during the Revolution or under the Confederation, seven who had been governors of their states, and eight who had signed the Declaration of Independence. They had come together, not to deliver fervid orations or to sway popular galleries, but for honest "negotiation and accommodation" by which they could achieve their one aim. Thus it was that the delegates (sixty-two were chosen but only as many as fifty-five attended) decided at the outset to closet themselves

5. See F. A. Waugh, "Town Meeting," *Survey*, July 1, 1925, p. 389; and S. L. Dickinson, "First Monday in March," *Scribner's*, March, 1938, pp. 57–59.

away from the public eye. So anxious were they to avoid publicity that they ruled that no formal record of the proceedings should be kept. Past this point, however, their unanimity ceased. Differences of opinion multiplied to such an extent that some delegates, despairing of ever coming to a solution, packed up and went home. The venerable Ben Franklin was dismayed at the prospect of dissolution and proposed that a daily prayer be offered asking for divine guidance. But even this motion failed to receive unanimous support! The plain fact, as the records disclose, is that these men were utterly human:

They do not portray a group of inspired individuals convinced in advance that only one project of government could accomplish the general purposes they had clearly in mind. Instead of a disciplined crew under a stern and bright-eyed captain steering the ship of state by the north star, we see a wrangling body of thoughtful, experienced, and capable men, but harassed men, torn by interests, prejudices, and passions, drifting one day in one direction and the next in another, deciding long debated issues, opening them again, altering their previous views, and adopting novel solutions.[6]

For them discussion and debate did not provide an *open sésame* to that utopia where all is sweetness and harmony; but discussion and debate did provide the delegates with the essential tools necessary to perform their task. What is perhaps of equal moment to us is the example of peaceful settlement of their common problems by wise and good men. "The example," wrote Thomas Jefferson, "of changing a constitution by assembling the wise men of the state, instead of assembling armies, will be worth as much to the world as the former examples we have given them."

With the adoption by the Convention of what has since been termed "a bundle of compromises" and "a mosaic of second choices accepted in the interests of union," the second debate began. Many of the delegates to the Convention had been trained in the town meetings, and to them they repaired to urge ratification in the various state conventions. It is interesting to note that old Sam Adams, who had not been chosen as a delegate to the Convention, opposed the adoption of the new constitution. Among other things,

6. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1927), vol. I, p. 316. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

he said, it took away too much power from the local communities and the town meetings!

In some states the public debates were more vigorous than in others, and mob action terminated at least a few meetings. But in the end the federalists prevailed and the ninth state ratified the Constitution on June 21, 1788. Some friends of the Constitution, notably Thomas Jefferson, felt that insufficient guarantees of personal liberty were included in the document, and thus the "Bill of Rights" amendments were adopted shortly thereafter. By freedom of speech and assembly the Constitution had been won, and by those same freedoms it was to be preserved. "Those who won our independence," said Justice Brandeis, "believed that, without free speech and assembly, discussion would be futile; that with them, discussion affords ordinarily adequate protection against the dissemination of noxious doctrine; that the greatest menace to freedom is an inert people; that public discussion is a political duty; that this should be a fundamental principle of the American Government." [7]

C. The Lyceum and the Chautauqua [8]

Most prominent among the many agencies for public discussion which flourished during the last century were the Lyceum and the Chautauqua movements. The Lyceum movement (taking its name from the grove near the temple of Apollo Lyceus in Athens where Aristotle taught) began in 1826 with a twofold purpose: (1) by the "diffusion of useful information" it was hoped that the political education of citizens would be increased, and (2) by adopting the cause of the common schools it was hoped that people could be brought to a realization of their usefulness and the support of their extension.[9] The first group to call itself a member of the American Lyceum system was organized in November, 1826, at Millbury, Massachusetts, by Josiah Holbrook, an itinerant lecturer on the natural sciences. This venture into "mutual education" was soon copied all over the United States, and by 1829 branches had been established in nearly every state. Counties, communities, and pro-

7. Whitney v. California, 274 U.S. 357.

8. For a comprehensive survey of these two movements we are indebted to Paul D. Bagwell, *The Development of Public Discussion in the United States* (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1938).

9. This second objective of the Lyceum movement, of course, made it in part a propaganda or "discussion-for-a-cause" agency.

fessional groups organized their own Lyceums. These groups usually held weekly lecture-forum meetings, listening to one of their own members, a visitor from another lyceum, or a paid lecturer, and concluding the meeting with a question and general discussion period. Outstanding people of the time, such as James A. Garfield, Susan B. Anthony, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Frederick Douglass were among the popular lyceum lecturers. The periods of the greatest influence of this movement were from 1826–46, and 1865–95, an influence that was primarily felt in the local communities where, by "community discussion," the tradition of the old town meeting was kept alive. "The town lyceums provided the people of the community with an opportunity for attending what was virtually an adult school. . . . Lyceum attendance exposed all to the possibilities of learning, and subjected them to a group enthusiasm for mental cultivation which was not to be resisted." [10]

While the Lyceum movement gained its force from the support of those who advocated free, public schools, the Chautauqua movement originally developed from the Sunday School Institutes which were held annually during the summers to train Sunday school teachers. The "Mother Chautauqua," which gave the movement its name, was founded on the shores of Chautauqua Lake at Fair Point, N. Y. At first a Methodist and then an interdenominational training school, the "Chautauqua idea" soon embraced a wider field. Lewis Miller, one of the cofounders, in 1874, declared that "Chautauqua must perform her part. The statesman, the humanitarian, must be brought upon her platform, and there, free from caste and party spirit, discuss questions, solve problems, and inaugurate measures that will mould and inspire for the right." [11] As the movement spread more than four hundred permanent Assemblies were set up in various centers, each one eventually functioning as a general summer school, offering a fairly broad curriculum to its constituents. When financial difficulties forced the closure of most of these Assemblies the Chautauqua Circuit period began, and from about 1904–19 the old lyceum lecture bureaus furnished speakers who traveled to as many as ten thousand com-

10. Cecil B. Hayes, *The American Lyceum* (Bul. 12, U. S. Printing Office, 1932), p. 35.

11. J. H. Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement* (Chautauqua, New York, 1886), p. vii.

munities each year. Eventually, as we know, the Chautauqua units added entertainment features, playing weeklong stands with a potpourri of lecturers, glee clubs, and Swiss bell-ringers. But during its earlier days the Chautauqua had an incalculable influence upon American thinking, bringing, as it did, political leaders, social reformers, distinguished foreign lecturers, outstanding preachers, and men of science and letters to the public platform in even the smallest villages to discuss the social, political, and economic issues of the time.

D. The Open-Forum Movement

Originally the Latin word *forum* meant an out-of-doors market place, usually located in the center of a city so that it also provided a space for popular assemblies. As it has been used in America the name *open forum* has come to describe any meeting where the public is invited (usually at a fee) and where questions and discussion by audience members follow the formal presentation. Sometimes this presentation may be in the form of a panel discussion, or a symposium, although it is more frequently a lecture or a debate. Beginning in 1897 at New York's Cooper Union, the forum movement has spread until in 1936 the Office of Education was able to count 1,600 in an admittedly incomplete survey.[12] And two years later Mary Ely concluded a survey for an adult education group with these words:

> Forums are meeting in churches and synagogues; in schoolrooms, libraries, museums, and public auditoriums; in settlement houses, club houses, and apartment houses; in the assembly rooms of labor unions and professional associations; in shelters for transient dwellers and in parks for passers-by. They meet in the morning, the afternoon, the evening; at luncheon, at tea, at dinner.[13]

In the history of the open-forum movement a few names stand out: Public Forum, Inc., New York, 1907; Ford Hall Forum, Boston, 1907; Daytona Beach Forum, Florida, 1913; and the Chicago Forum Council, 1925. Of no less importance are the hundreds of others established in the smaller communities, for each one, in its

12. *Choosing Our Way* (Office of Education, U. S. Dept. of Interior, Bul. 1936, Misc. 1), p. 4.

13. Mary L. Ely, "Talking it Over: the Old Town Meeting Reincarnated," *Survey Graphic*, January, 1938, pp. 57–59.

own area, serves to focus attention upon current public problems and to encourage general discussion of these problems.

In this necessarily brief sketch detailed mention can be made of only two special phases of the open-forum movement: the Des Moines Public Forums, and the Federal Forum Project. The former was established, under the leadership of the Des Moines Board of Education and Mr. J. W. Studebaker, then city superintendent of schools, through a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. At the outset three definite objectives were in the minds of the leaders: "(1) Exchange of information and points of view; (2) Development of tolerance and open-mindedness; and (3) Development of critical intelligence." [14] Spotted in neighborhoods all over the city, five hundred and seventy forum meetings were held each year and by means of bulletins, radio announcements, and newspaper stories the public was invited to attend without charge—each time to hear a speaker discuss a subject of current interest, listen to a short panel discussion by fellow townspeople, and to take part themselves by asking questions and making comments. And the citizens of Des Moines came! In 1934, in the second year of operation, the aggregate attendance was over seventy thousand, while thirteen thousand different people (over 17 per cent of the total adult population of Des Moines) had attended the meetings. Such was the response of mid-Western citizens who were invited to discuss their common problems in a forum whose purpose was "to educate, not to promote any particular program of action."

When Mr. Studebaker was appointed United States Commissioner of Education he carried with him the notion that "forums are training in citizenship," particularly for those adult citizens who are no longer assisted by the public schools. By 1937 federal support had been received for the establishment of nineteen forum demonstration centers located in urban and rural communities of as many states. Local educational officers directed the forums with the assistance of trained forum leaders. In that year over ten thousand forum meetings were held with a total attendance estimated at one million. It is too early to say whether an extensive forum project, financed by the federal government, will become a permanent institution, but the enthusiastic support it has so far received clearly demonstrates that a large number of adult citizens

14. J. W. Studebaker, *Plain Talk* (Washington, 1936), p. 103.

are interested in discussing current problems confronting their democracy.

E. Discussion and Debate in the Colleges

Simultaneously with the founding of most of our colleges and universities the literary societies were organized. In these organizations each group provided its own forum for oratory, debate, and the declamation of poetry, and for many years these societies absorbed the attention of undergraduates. About 1900, however, the intercollegiate debate was developing into a common institution and since that time has grown to great proportions through the growth of debate tournaments, student legislative assemblies, radio debates, and so on. A more complete picture of this development will be found in Chapter XXIII, "The Nature, Purposes, and Limitations of Debate."

In recent years two new phases of discussion and debate have been inaugurated in many colleges. The first is the "extension program" offered to civic clubs, high schools, church groups, and the like, with undergraduate students presenting discussions and debates upon timely subjects. Such programs have been popular primarily because they have provided the student speaker with a live, "practical" audience to which he may carry the information he has gained in his classrooms. And from the standpoint of the "extension audiences" these programs are usually thought-provoking as well as interesting.

A second phase of public discussion and debate sponsored by educational institutions is the rural discussion program. Ordinarily carried out only by the larger universities, these programs have a threefold objective: (1) to contribute to the development, among rural people, of the science and art of living and working in groups; (2) to stimulate specific activities contributing to the development of human values and rural talent; and (3) to assist rural people in developing and co-ordinating their various groups and institutions in relation to their priority and emphasis on community building.[15] The function of the university in such a program is the training of discussion leaders and chairmen from the communities in which the meetings are to be held. Since this work was begun at the Uni-

15. Taken from the "Annual Report of the Rural Sociology Extension Department," University of Wisconsin, December, 1932.

versity of Wisconsin in 1931 twenty-four other states have entered the movement and the United States Department of Agriculture has actively supported it. As an "adventure in co-operative thinking" it has appealed to hundreds of thousands of rural people who are thus provided an opportunity to discuss with their neighbors the problems they have in common.

F. Discussion and Debate on the Radio

The final step in tracing the growth of discussion and debate in America is to consider the contribution made by the development of radio. Today a number of popular radio programs use the discussion and debate technique: The University of Chicago Round Table, America's Town Meeting of the Air, The People's Platform, The Bull Session, and a number of others less well known. In 1931, however, there were no such programs when an extemporaneous round-table discussion participated in by three members of the University of Chicago faculty was broadcast experimentally. The experiment was a success, and since October, 1933, this program has been heard each Sunday as an educational feature of one of the major networks. Allen Miller, the program's first director, believed that as Father Coughlin, Huey Long, and Dr. Townsend had turned to the radio to attract adherents to their respective causes, so radio could be made the medium for dissemination of reliable information and analysis of the news of the day:

> Radio has become the most critical battle front of public thought. In these crucial times the public need for authentic information has become particularly acute. With demagogues using radio to spread misinformation, it has become imperative that recognized authorities in education reach the people, through the same medium, with facts.[16]

Out of this conviction grew the weekly Round Table program. As it has always been conducted, three men, usually members of the university faculty, sit around a table and hold a conversation (a prepared script is never used) on a timely subject in political, economic, or social affairs. Because at least one member of the group has always had considerable experience with this type of discussion, the conversation is coherent and easy to follow, despite its informality. In short, the Round Table technique differs from

16. Josephine H. MacLatchy, ed., *Education on the Air: 1935* (Columbus, Ohio, 1935), p. 156.

more stereotyped radio presentations because instead of putting men before a microphone it puts a microphone before the men.

The program rather successfully keeps up with the pace set by the newspaper headlines, analyzing and furnishing backgrounds for the news of the day while it is uppermost in the minds of the listening public. Thus such topics as these have contributed greatly to thinking about current events: "What Depressions Do to People," "Will the Wage-Hour Bill Make Jobs?" and "'Realism' in British Diplomacy."

The second radio program which we will consider here is America's Town Meeting of the Air, sponsored by Town Hall, Inc., of New York, together with one of the major broadcasting companies. This program, presented weekly except during the summer, differs from the Round Table program chiefly in its method of presentation rather than in its objectives. The usual forms used by the Town Meeting program are the debate and the symposium, with the emphasis always upon the presentation of different points of view on a given topic. Following a forty-minute discussion by outstanding speakers, the studio audience asks questions for the remainder of the broadcast period. At the conclusion of the broadcast many local groups carry on the discussion, meeting in public halls or in private homes. To aid in this feature of the program Town Hall has established a special advisory service.

The program was first put on the air in 1935 and has since proved to be one of the most popular of the educational broadcasts, on occasion reaching an estimated five million listeners. The idea for the program first occurred to Mr. George V. Denny, Jr., president of Town Hall, and permanent moderator of the Town Meeting of the Air. Said Mr. Denny:

> If we persist in the practice of Republicans reading only Republican newspapers, listening only to Republican speeches on the radio, attending only Republican political rallies, and mixing socially only with those of congenial views, and if Democrats, Socialists, Communists, Laborites, Coughlinites, and Townsendites follow suit, we are sowing the seeds of the destruction of our democracy, just as surely as if we did not possess this freedom.

From this belief developed the notion that the primary purpose of the program is education by "stimulation," which means a presentation of multiple points of view so that listeners may do their

own thinking in selecting the best solutions for the problems discussed. That the program achieves its purpose seems to be indicated by a study made of its "fan mail" by Professor Hadley Cantril:

34% of the listeners change their opinions as a result of the broadcast,
28% of the listeners always follow the broadcast with further discussion; 50% usually do so, and 20% sometimes do so,
11% of the listeners always follow the broadcast by some reading on the subject discussed; 24% usually do so, and 55% sometimes do so.

Sample programs of the Town Meeting of the Air are these: "What Does the European Situation Mean to Us?"—speakers: Senator Gerald P. Nye, Miss Dorothy Thompson, Norman Thomas, and Sherwood Eddy; "What Does Democracy Mean?"—speakers: Salvador de Madariaga, Clarence A. Hathaway, Isaac Don Levine, Max Lerner, and Dr. Ruth Alexander; "Shall the President's Plan for Reorganization of the Executive Branch of Government be Adopted?"—speakers: James Roosevelt and Congressman Samuel B. Pettengill.

The New England town meeting, the Constitutional debates, the Lyceum and the Chautauqua, the open forums, the colleges and the universities, and most recently, radio programs, have each played an important role in the growth of discussion and debate in America. If it be true that democracy is "government by discussion" then each of these has contributed its share in building our democracy by its stimulation of public thinking about public problems.

II. Contemporary Discussion and Debate

Not infrequently we hear the comment made that democracies, with their constant weighing of what everyone thinks, are inefficient. It calls to mind a story told about Charles F. Kettering, vice-president of General Motors. At the time of Lindbergh's nonstop flight to Paris Mr. Kettering's wife was relating the news. "How wonderful," she concluded, "that he did it all alone!" "It would have been still more wonderful," said Mr. Kettering, "if he had done it with a committee." The problem of achieving direct and immediate results through committee discussion is not always an easy one, as this facetious observation implies. Honesty, sin-

cerity, tolerance, and intelligence are no less virtues in discussion and debate than in any other human enterprise. "Cracker-barrel democracy" has not been nurtured in America because it is the easiest method of government, but because it is the freest and best method of *self*-government. Solutions for the vital problems of a democracy can come only when a majority of its citizens are sufficiently well-informed to produce them. For that reason, solutions may be found more slowly than in a dictatorship. But when they are found in a democracy it is because they have won support in the competitive market of ideas, and they have been adopted through free discussion and debate.

In the paragraphs which follow we will consider the functioning of discussion and debate in a few instances. In each case the facts have been taken from newspaper accounts or other published records.

A. Adult Education

In the state of Wisconsin, some years ago, a small group of citizens in an isolated community discussed among themselves their need for expert analysis of the vital problems of the day upon which they, as voters, were expected to make decisions. In their search for this help they appealed to the president of their state university. He, because he believed in the need for education among adult as well as school-age citizens, undertook the establishment of an Extension Division of his university, with a staff of lecturers whose job was to visit the local communities of the state and there give instruction in fields selected by the citizens themselves. Since that time the development of similar university enterprises elsewhere has gone on rapidly. Today university staff members "ride the circuit" as did the old-time preacher and lawyer, giving lectures, answering questions, and leading discussion upon topics of current interest.

Further stimulus to the development of discussion among adult groups has come from the Association for Adult Education, local school boards, and numerous private agencies. In Las Cruces, New Mexico, a town of about 6,000 population, for example, a group of citizens, perplexed over certain public questions, decided that intelligent discussions by well-informed men would help them in making up their minds. They secured the support of fifteen service

clubs, women's clubs, and civic organizations and established the Las Cruces Town Meeting in the fall of 1940. Meetings are held each Tuesday evening in the library auditorium and regularly attract more than 350 citizens who come to listen to three or four speakers in a symposium-forum and to take part in the discussion themselves. These town meetings have not only increased public interest in public problems, but Las Cruces clubwomen report that they have "greatly improved the conversation at social gatherings"!

B. Municipal Government

Discussion and debate of city affairs is, in most cases, not limited to members of the local administration. Meetings of the village council, the board of education, or the committee on public health are usually held in open session so that citizens of the community may attend in order to listen to, and to take part in, the consideration of city affairs. When a proposed tax measure is up for consideration the citizen may want to learn at first hand the exact purpose of the levy, what it will cost him, and what benefits he may expect to receive. Many organizations with special interests appoint regular observers to attend these meetings, and city officials become familiar with representatives of the Parent-Teachers' Association, the League of Women Voters, the Civic Taxpayers' League, and the Chamber of Commerce.

In order to provide a sort of intercity stimulation the annual Conference of Mayors was organized a few years ago and the chief officials from most of the leading cities of the country meet regularly for discussion of problems which are common to all cities. A similar conference is also held annually by the governors of most states.

C. Industrial Relations

Until fairly recently whenever members of a labor union felt that they had a grievance against their employer they immediately called a strike, negotiations between the employer and his employees were often protracted and haggling almost beyond the limit of public patience, and violence and bloodshed not infrequently took place. Strikes are not, of course, unknown today, but the records disclose that they have been steadily decreasing in

number and, when called, have been settled more quickly. This improvement in industrial relations has benefited not only the employer and the employee, but especially the general public and the local communities. In no small part these improved relations have come about through the agencies of mediation and conciliation—employment of the conference technique—established by the Department of Labor, the National Labor Relations Board, and state and local groups. The city of Toledo, Ohio, is a case in point.

The years 1934–1935 in Toledo had been ones of almost continuous industrial strife and public patience was sorely tried. In 1936 it was decided to try an experiment in employer-employee relations. With the wholehearted support of Toledo newspapers and townspeople, and the tentative acquiescence of manufacturers and unions, the Toledo Peace Board was set up. In its final form this board was made up of five labor spokesmen, five employer representatives, and eight impartial citizens. When labor-management negotiations broke down and a strike or lockout seemed imminent the dispute was taken before the board chairman who would then ask one or more representatives from each group represented on the board to form a panel, conferring separately and then jointly with the disputants. Until these conferences were concluded the two parties to the conflict agreed to consider neither strikes nor lockouts. If the panel proved unable to reach an agreement the entire board would be called to sit on the dispute. By recognizing that most strikes are community problems, and by providing all groups within the community an opportunity to participate in mediation and conciliation conferences, Toledo has won nation-wide recognition in her highly successful effort to prevent strikes, lockouts, and disagreements in the field of industrial relations. As Edward F. McGrady, former First Assistant Secretary of Labor, and originator of the Toledo plan, has said, "I hate to think that any dispute between employers and employees cannot be settled by people putting their feet under the mahogany—or on top of it—and talking their problems out in man-to-man fashion." Toledo has demonstrated that patience, tolerance, and understanding on the part of everyone in the community can make for the settlement of industrial disputes around the conference table instead of on the picket line.

D. Public Policy Formation

In 1931 the depression was becoming acute in the city of South Bend, Indiana, and the apparent unwillingness of public officials to recognize changing economic conditions inspired outspoken public protest. In order to crystallize these protests and to mould them into an effective and creative public opinion a Civic Planning Association, embracing about 1,700 members representing a broad cross section of community life, was organized. Regular monthly evening meetings and weekly luncheon meetings were held for the purpose of discussing civic problems. On the agenda were such matters as studying and analyzing, with the help of competent research experts, governmental budgets, bond issues, and city ordinances. With a clear understanding of these problems, and armed with facts pertaining to them, members of the Association sponsored other discussion groups, gave publicity to their findings, and attended public hearings. In the past ten years of its operation the Civic Planning Association has encouraged a greater public understanding of the rights and responsibilities of voters in a democratic community and has been instrumental in improving the public service of their local administration.

E. Religious Affairs

The story of interdenominational religious conferences for the discussion of common problems, on national as well as city-wide bases, is familiar to all. Perhaps less familiar, however, is the story of the reuniting of 8,000,000 members of the Methodist Church who had been split into three separate groups since before the days of the Civil War when slavery was a sectional as well as a religious issue. When that difference of opinion was long forgotten the three churches still carried on independently, each one adhering to the same creed and preaching the same gospel. All of the while a few members of each group felt the need for new strength which could come only through reunion. When that feeling became strong enough in May, 1939, a general conference was called in Kansas City, attended by 900 delegates representing all three factions. There, in the Municipal Auditorium, after long and serious discussion, adjustments were made, compromises were

effected, and a new framework of ecclesiastical government was built which now embraces all three groups.

F. State Government

One of the most encouraging chapters in the history of "cracker-barrel democracy" was written in 1938 at the time of the revision of the New York state constitution. A state convention of popularly elected delegates had been called to modernize and make more efficient an antiquated instrument of government. Out of the debates in this convention there evolved seven groups of proposed changes in the constitution, each of which was to be submitted to the electorate as a separate amendment at the time of the next election. The major problem which had next to be met was that of furnishing the voters of the state with accurate information, presented through sound argument, so that they could vote intelligently upon the proposed amendments. Under the leadership of the National Municipal League a large panel of speakers was built up, including outstanding authorities in the fields of taxation, social welfare, and political economy, as well as scores of college undergraduates who had made special studies of these fields in their classroom work. For the next few months these speakers discussed the proposed amendments and debated the issues involved before thousands of voters meeting in civic clubs, public forums, and private assemblies all over the state. They so informed and interested the voters in the problems of state government that in the fall election (held in an "off-year") the greatest number of votes on constitutional amendments ever recorded in that state was cast.

The accomplishments of this large corps of speakers in New York were so outstanding that the National Municipal League was urged to co-ordinate and strengthen the activities of educational leaders of public thought throughout the country. For that purpose the League called a Conference on American Self-Government on the University of Indiana campus in the spring of 1940 and there, for two days, these educators investigated and discussed dozens of local and state projects in self-government. It is perhaps too early to evaluate the progress made in that meeting, but from it has come a considerable impetus for the cause of intelligent discussion of public affairs.

G. Student Conferences

College conferences on public affairs, on foreign policy, and on problems of youth have become everyday occurrences. Some national student organizations, such as the American Student Union and the International Student Service hold regular conventions and conferences attended by delegates from student groups across the nation, and there undergraduates are given an opportunity to discuss and weigh problems which are of special importance to them. In the fall of 1940, for example, a large conference of American student leaders was held at International House, in New York City, to discuss the general question "How can we preserve our democratic heritage?" Over a period of three days the delegates heard addresses by such people as Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt and Archibald MacLeish, and discussed and debated among themselves such vital problems as "Threats to Democracy—Internal and External," "Democracy at Work," and "America's National Defense—Its Implications."

On individual campuses, too, an opportunity for general participation in discussion and debate is regularly afforded through mock political conventions, peace-day rallies, public-affairs institutes and, in a happier day, mock League of Nations assemblies. Among those with which the reader may be familiar are: College of William and Mary Conference on Public Issues, University of Toledo Professional College Course in Citizenship, Oberlin College Mock Political Convention, Grinnell College Conference on Participation in Public Affairs, Westminster College Institute of Public Affairs, and the Berea College Public Affairs Laboratory.

In high schools, too, students are more and more being given opportunities to discuss and debate public problems among themselves. In recent years such projects as these have become widely known: the Civics Dinner Clubs sponsored by the Civics Research Institute and local boards of education, the Pittsburgh Mock City Election, the Fort Worth Vocational Guidance Project, the California and Pennsylvania Model Legislatures, and the Cleveland Conference on International Affairs.

In all of these fields, and in many others, general public participation in discussion and debate is taking place today. These techniques are not only studied in college courses—they are the essen-

tial working tools of a democracy. By their more widespread use in every field of public concern they represent the response of "cracker-barrel democracy" to the familiar injunction of Walt Whitman:

> I say discuss all and expose all—
>   I am for every topic openly . . .
> There can be no safety for these States
> . . . without free tongues,
>   and ears willing to hear the tongues.

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EXERCISES

1. Prepare to make a three-minute speech commenting upon and illustrating the ideas contained in one of the following statements:
   (a) "If Americans love their liberty, if they hope to make the democratic experiment succeed, if they wish to avoid servitude in the future, it is imperative that the knowledge of the people begin as soon as possible to approximate the knowledge of the leaders; that the people come to know the problems which their leaders are attempting to solve sufficiently well to enable them to distinguish success from failure, to permit them to co-operate with a will rather than to yield obedience which must be blind and sullen because it is forced." (William F. Russell, quoted by John W. Studebaker, *Plain Talk*, p. i.)
   (b) "We live in a propaganda age. Public opinion no longer is formulated by the slow processes of what Professor John Dewey calls shared experience. In our time public opinion is primarily a

response to propaganda stimuli." (E. C. Lindeman and C. R. Miller, "Introduction" in Harold Lavine and James Wechsler, *War Propaganda and the United States*, p. vii.)

(c) "This strife of opinions . . . [i. e., discussion and debate] . . . has nothing in it of the brute fight to overmaster and destroy. Such fighting, having force as its criterion, is the way of barbarism. For in it the loser only loses. The fight of ideas, on the other hand, is the way of civilization. For in this fight, he who loses, loses to the truth, and thereby wins. This kind of fighting is good for everybody." (Harry and Bonaro Overstreet, *Town Meeting Comes to Town*, pp. 13–14.)

(d) "There is something very dangerous about the doctrine that only the truth has a right to be heard." (*Christian Century* editorial, quoted, *Time*, June 13, 1938, p. 55.)

(e) "It is always dangerous for a man to have the floor by himself." (Woodrow Wilson, speech to the American Federation of Labor convention, Buffalo, N.Y., Nov. 12, 1917.)

(f) "Every civilization, in order to endure, must be organized around some generally accepted scale of values. For us, this has been the democratic way of life. Democracy is a trial and error process. The sovereign people make mistakes, and sometimes repeat the same mistakes several times, but as long as they have freedom to criticize, they have the means to make changes and to correct their mistakes. Democratic processes are necessarily slow, because we want them to be the product of deliberation, discussion and persuasion." (Dean Carl F. Wittke, Oberlin College, assembly talk, Sept. 19, 1940.)

(g) "It has been my experience that when men and management have been negotiating for a long time they are apt to become impatient and irritable—there is a loss of balance. Many disputes go on the rocks when the participants become conference-drunk. In that state they are apt to bark at each other, commit mayhem, or do almost anything. By bringing fresh minds into the picture at this stage of the game a quick agreement can frequently be reached." (Edward F. McGrady, "How Peace Came to Toledo," *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1938, p. 15.)

(h) The mobilizing of educational and civic resources to attack public problems may best be carried on in three separate stages: "(1) investigation to secure basic facts; (2) public discussion to test the facts and to give people generally an opportunity to form convictions about them; and (3) provision for action to give effect to individual convictions generated by discussion." (S.

Howard Evans, speech at the Conference on American Self-Government, Bloomington, Ind., May 13, 1940.)

2. Arrange to pay a series of visits to a discussion group in your community such as the city council, the library board, the Chamber of Commerce, or a political club, and write a brief report of what you observed. Was there adequate discussion of the problem at hand? Were all sides represented? Could you observe any shift of opinion in the members during the progress of the meeting?

3. Organize a class discussion on the question "What is the role of discussion and debate in a democratic society?" Select four students to prepare brief statements of not more than five minutes each, treating different aspects of this question; then throw the question open for general class discussion under the leadership of one member.

4. Select a current campus problem and trace the steps through which it might be developed before action is taken upon it, being careful to make the procedure as scientific and objective as possible.

5. From the list of public discussions in the Appendix select one for case study. Attempt to discover the bases of the problem, how it came to occupy public attention, the way in which it was discussed and debated and the action, if any, taken upon it.

CHAPTER IV

How Individuals Think

We come now to the last preliminary task in establishing our point of view, that of discovering how individuals think. One of the premises upon which a democratic state is based is that the individual voter can be trusted to "make up his mind" on a rational basis. It was to this belief in the wisdom of collective humanity that Thomas Jefferson held and, later, it was this same faith in the "free play of intelligence" that encouraged Horace Mann.

Of late, however, John Dewey, James Harvey Robinson, Walter Lippmann, and Abbott Lawrence Lowell, to mention a few, have questioned the validity of this ancient philosophical assumption. Perhaps the clearest statement of the current view is made by Graham Wallas in his study of political psychology when he emphasizes "the danger, for all human activities, but especially for the working of democracy, of the intellectualist assumption that every human action is the result of an intellectual process, by which a man first thinks of some end which he desires and then calculates the means by which that end can be attained." [1]

A considerably distorted and less scientific statement of this same point of view has been voiced recently by a man who is, in some quarters, acknowledged to be an authority on the psychology of public opinion:

> The people, in an overwhelming majority, are so feminine in their nature and attitude that their activities and thoughts are motivated less by sober consideration than by feeling and sentiment. . . . The great masses' receptive ability is only very limited, their understanding is small, but their forgetfulness is great. . . . In political matters feeling

1. Graham Wallas, *Human Nature in Politics* (New York, 1921), p. 5.

often decides more accurately than reason. . . . What we mean by the word "public opinion" depends only to the smallest extent on the individual's own experiences or knowledge, and largely on an image, frequently created by a penetrating and persistent sort of so-called "enlightenment" [propaganda].[2]

Believing these things to be true it is not strange that Adolf Hitler goes on to express his contempt for those who "argue on the basis of facts. . . ." "To hell with reason! We spit on reason! . . . . The Nazi party must not become a bailiff of public opinion, but its ruler. It must not be the masses' slave, but their master!"

The question with which we are concerned in this chapter is the validity of Hitler's conception of how individuals think. The purpose of our study, then, is to see by what process the average man does "make up his mind." How does he choose between two irreconcilable points of view, either of which a rational mind might accept as valid? Does he make his choice rationally or almost entirely on the basis of emotion and prejudice? Does he have, and use, a sense of discrimination which enables him to cope with the pressures of propaganda, tradition, and desire, so that he may follow a process of sound reasoning in "making up his mind?"

It is not possible to answer these questions dogmatically and without reservation, but it is possible to indicate the *general tendencies in the thinking processes of the average individual.* In this chapter, then, we shall begin by examining three bases of human reaction which may be called: (a) *emotional,* (b) *habitual,* and (c) *intellectual.*

I. Bases of Human Reaction

From the time that the irritating ring of the alarm clock awakens us in the morning until we turn out the light at night we are reacting to the stimuli of our environment. Our resulting behavior may sometimes be emotional; at other times, habitual; and at still others, intellectual. When we speak of human reactions or of behavior, we mean the sum total of muscular, glandular, and nervous response made by an individual to any given situation with which he is confronted. Considered as an integrated and unified reaction these specific responses represent man's total biological

2. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York, 1939), pp. 237, 234, 224, and 108. By permission of the copyright holders, Houghton Mifflin Company.

relationship to his environment. To analyze the separate bases of human reaction, then, is to observe and interpret the reactive behavior of normal humans as it takes place in response to stimuli in their environment.

These reactions of the normal individual, we have said, are emotional, habitual, or intellectual. It should be noted, however, that these arbitrary categories of behavior are not mutually exclusive; they often overlap or merge into one another. In terms of their genetic development these three categories represent general levels of reaction, and although in this chapter we are concerned primarily with the intellectual or "thinking" level of reaction it will be worth our while to pay some attention to all three.

A. Emotional Reactions

At birth human beings are endowed with the capacity for certain unlearned reactions which may be characterized as primary or basic emotions. Because the capacity for behavior based upon these emotions is original, native or unlearned, emotional responses may be said to represent the first level and most primitive type of human reaction.

Emotions and emotional behavior have long been matters upon which eminent psychologists have disagreed. Some writers have used the term "instinct" or "impulse" to designate this type of human reaction, and they have listed acquisitiveness, anger, disgust, envy, fear, love, mastery, remorse, and wonder as native and unlearned responses. In surveying several hundred writers in 1924, Barnard found no less than 14,046 human activities that at least one of them had termed instinctive! [3] However, because few human reactions may be completely isolated and because the environment in which these reactions occur is in a state of continual flux, to speak of instincts or impulses except in very general and broad terms is to oversimplify. We shall limit our brief discussion, therefore, to a description of emotional behavior.

After observing the behavior of children Watson concluded that there are three broad, unlearned, pattern-responses which might be called emotions: love, fear, and rage.[4] Other investigators, how-

3. Cited by L. F. Shaffer, *The Psychology of Adjustment* (Boston, 1936), p. 24.

4. See John B. Watson, *Behaviorism* (New York, 1925), pp. 120–125.

ever, were unable to differentiate these emotions of infants. They could not distinguish, for example, between fear and anger, although emotional behavior could be differentiated from other types of behavior. "It is also true that such emotions as anger, fear, pity or disgust do not exist in unique independence, but that the phenomena that we find are such things as fighting reactions or fearfulness, the experience of pitying or the withdrawal from obnoxious objects. *Neither emotion nor emotions exist as discrete entities.*" [5] Thus it is likely that in discussing this type of human reaction we should not speak of emotions but only of emotion, a single, basic and diffused pattern-response. As this emotional behavior is elicited by the environment, and as the environment modifies the expression of this behavior, certain characteristics of the behavior may be observed.

1. Emotional behavior is usually excessive behavior; it is total and diffused and it involves more activity than is essential to respond to the stimuli calling it forth.

2. Emotional behavior is disorganized behavior; it is unspecialized and unlocalized. It follows no arbitrary course even in responding to similar stimuli. (When behavior becomes organized it is no longer emotional, but habitual or intellectual.)

3. Emotional behavior is accompanied by an aroused physiological and psychological state of the individual's organism. This aroused physiological state is characterized by extreme glandular and muscular activity, and manifested in a sensory awareness of these bodily changes and a motor set rendering the individual capable of reaction.

4. Emotional behavior is subject to only limited control and that on a subcortical level, probably centering in the thalamus.

Thus we may conclude that emotional behavior, as one level of human reaction, is that behavior which consists of random, excessive, and disorganized activity. It is reaction to environmental stimuli which is not sufficiently integrated or organized to take place on the habitual or intellectual level.

5. Carney Landis, in E. G. Boring, H. S. Langfeld, and H. P. Weld, *Psychology* (New York, 1935), p. 397.

B. Habitual Reactions

The second level of individual reaction is that of habitual reactions, formed only after the individual has come into contact with his environment to a degree which has provided him with certain definite patterns of response to specific stimuli. Each habit becomes, then, a potential response pattern needing only a particular stimulus to make it active and operative. Thus we may define a habit as a secondary, acquired, or learned reaction.

Since habits are learned they may be modified as the individual incorporates different phases of his environment into his own personality, or his "total response potentialities." Thus we often speak of "good" habits and "bad" habits, by which we mean habits observed in other individuals which are either in accord or conflict with our own patterns of habit-response or our idea of what those patterns ought to be.

Habits which become means of reaction to our social environment may be induced directly by that environment. They may also be outgrowths of our original, unlearned emotional reactions. Children, for example, fear that which they do not understand; when confronted with a large, shaggy animal that barks they fear it, and thus manifest in a specific situation an unlearned emotional response. From this reaction, in later life, they may develop the habit of never petting strange dogs, or may even cross the street to avoid meeting one.

In a broader social situation also, acquired habitual behavior may determine the way in which we respond to environmental stimuli. Habitual behavior may lead to careful attention to a public lecture by a husband while his wife just as carefully attends to the dresses worn by other women in the audience. Habitual behavior may be responsible for an individual's continued purchase of Mello cigarettes despite the advertising claims of mildness, perfected blending, and economy of price of the newly launched Dolphin cigarettes.

In sum, habitual behavior is organized and patterned. Habitual behavior may be so confirmed that it resists change and ignores alternative responses which would be considered in reacting on the intellectual level.

C. Intellectual Reactions

The highest level of human reaction, from the standpoint of its emergence in the development of the individual, is that which we call intellectual. In terms of our two earlier classifications intellectual behavior is that type of reaction which prevents or controls emotional responses and alters habitual reactions. Hence intellectual behavior may be defined as that behavior which is based upon a capacity for associating specific reactions with the probable results of such reactions—in short, the capacity for reflective thinking or logical reasoning.

When reacting on an intellectual basis, an individual does not react in a disorganized fashion at the instigation of emotion, nor does he react in the usual patterned response of habit. Instead he reflects, incorporating and organizing his habits, experiences, ideas, beliefs and attitudes into a unified whole. He transforms an indeterminate situation into a determinate one, considers possible reactions to that situation, anticipates their probable results, and finally makes a rational choice.

It is not to be inferred, however, that reaction upon an intellectual level is always purely deliberate and intentional. Often it may be said that an individual's behavior is intellectual by necessity. Confronted with a particular situation, for example, emotional reaction may indicate one response while habitual reaction indicates an opposite one. When faced with these alternative reactions conflict ensues, and in order to resolve the conflict and make a specific response, intellectual behavior may take place. If even an exercise of intellectual activity does not result in a choice, of course, it is quite probable that emotional behavior will result.

In characterizing the relationship of emotional and habitual behavior to intellectual behavior we might say, first, that when reaction upon an emotional basis is sufficiently strong it takes precedence over, or precludes, possible reaction upon an intellectual basis. In this way emotional or unlearned reactions of love, fear, and rage take place without reflection. Similarly, emotional reaction usually guides such purely physiological responses as those impelled by hunger, thirst, or withdrawal from painful or irritating stimuli.

Second, we may observe that habitual reactions tend to restrict

intellectual behavior. As the individual, innately capable of certain emotional reactions, matures and adapts himself to his environment these basic tendencies may be directed or modified in such a way that habitual reactions result. When the individual is thus reacting upon a habitual basis, the influence of intellectual reactions is naturally restricted. Through contact with his social environment an individual may develop, or learn, other reactions on the habitual level—various manifestations of withdrawal from contact with members of another race, contribution to churches of a particular creed, and so on. Here again habitual reactions, this time conditioned by social facilitation or inhibition, restrict, or even exclude, reactions on the intellectual level.

In this consideration of intellectual behavior, it may be well to note that many psychologists ascribe the intellectual capacity of an individual to hereditary factors while others stress the effect of environment. A third group, however, adopts the more sensible view that both heredity and environment contribute to the development of an individual's intellectual behavior. While it may be true that heredity places definite limits upon an individual's intellectual capacity, it must be equally true that environmental factors (such as experience, social contacts, culture, and training) are of considerable significance.

So far we have spoken of the intellectual type of reaction as though it always has the same characteristics. This is true only in a general descriptive sense. To study intellectual behavior comprehensively we must consider three distinct manifestations of our capacity for thinking, each typifying a different level of intellectual reaction. These three types we shall call (1) *random thinking*, (2) *emotionalized thinking*, and (3) *reflective thinking*.

II. Random Thinking

Traditionally this first level of intellectual activity which we call random thinking has been understood to be that which takes place when we daydream, when our thoughts wander idly from topic to topic without any definite pattern, and when only by accidental coincidence we come upon a happy idea which may solve a problem.

The notion of deliberately setting out to find the solution for a problem is entirely foreign to random thinking. More or less by habit, however, when we are confronted with a problem we tend to "keep it on our minds." From time to time we may become re-aware of it, momentarily concentrate upon it, and then pass on to something else. Somewhere in our mental meandering, even when thinking of something else, we may get a flash of insight, an "inspiration," and a practical solution will occur to us. Such, we are told, was the experience of Archimedes the Greek who "happened onto" the principle of specific gravity as he lay in his bath and then dashed naked through the streets of Syracuse shouting "Eureka!" This first type of intellectual behavior, then, is one characterized by the absence of pattern or persistence and the predominance of haphazard mental activity.

III. Emotionalized Thinking

When we consider the second level of intellectual activity which we call emotionalized thinking we need to look back to our discussion of human reactions based upon unlearned emotional responses. These emotional responses we noted may be shaped, modified, or even distorted to meet new environmental stimuli. The sum total of this conditioning of an individual's unlearned responses may be derived from instruction and training, tradition, personal experience, imitation, habits, and so on. The result, for the individual, is the establishment of a whole new set of secondary or derived emotional responses which tend to restrict, in one way or another, the process of reflective thinking.

Although these secondary or derived emotional responses, sometimes called desires or wants, are almost universally present in human beings, they may become inhibited, modified, or changed by various factors in the environment. Though many psychologists believe these desires are unlearned, the interests or attitudes which they generate can be, and usually are, learned, as the researches of Thorndike show.[6] The net result is that "the amount of organized human behavior that is not determined by an individual's wants,

6. E. L. Thorndike, *The Psychology of Wants, Interests, and Attitudes* (New York, 1935), p. 184.

interests, and purposes is so small as to merit attention only because of its rarity." [7]

This generalized conclusion we can draw, therefore: a state of affairs which satisfies or annoys an individual does not do so solely because it brings him sensory pleasure or pain, happiness or irritation, joy or depression, but because it either satisfies or thwarts particular desires or wants.[8]

When psychologists write of these desires or secondary emotional responses, they often class them together with the basic unlearned responses under the inclusive term "emotional." It is in this same comprehensive sense which we use a derivative of the word here in designating the second level of intellectual activity as *emotionalized* thinking. It should be borne in mind, however, that only a few of the reactions which tend to emotionalize our thinking are definitely unlearned responses. The most that we can say of our secondary emotions or desires, which also tend to emotionalize our thinking, is that they *may* be unlearned.

Emotionalized thinking, then, is that type of intellectual activity which is restricted, directed, or controlled by basic emotional responses and derived emotional responses or desires. As barnacles on a ship's bottom impede its progress, so emotionalized thinking hampers the process of true reflective thought.

We are now ready to ask just what these drives, wants, or desires are. For our purposes we may say simply that they include everything which impels us to action. On such a basis Eisenson has drawn up a list of six of these fundamental drives:

(1) Human beings direct their activities to the satisfaction of physical wants and general physical well-being.
(2) Human beings normally behave in ways that will lead them toward success, mastery, or achievement.
(3) Human beings tend to behave in ways that will help them to gain recognition, admiration, respect, or approval.
(4) Human beings generally act in ways that will lead toward their being loved, and the realization of a feeling of being wanted.
(5) Human beings usually act in ways that will bring about peace of mind, security, and a feeling of release from worry and anxiety.

7. Jon Eisenson, *The Psychology of Speech* (New York, 1938), p. 248.
8. For a fuller treatment of this point of view see E. L. Thorndike, *Fundamentals of Learning* (New York, 1932).

(6) Human beings indicate by their behavior that they seek some adventure, new experiences, and zestful living.[9]

The question which now needs to be answered is just how important a part in our daily intellectual activity is played by these fundamental drives. The answer to this question must obviously be couched in general terms, since it is impossible to obtain completely objective accounts of how individuals "make up their minds." It is likewise impossible for an individual to weigh accurately and objectively the elements of desire, evidence, tradition, and so on, which influence him in the process of "making up his mind."

This much can be said, however—psychologists are generally agreed that we human beings are not the rational animals we were once thought to be. On the contrary, we tend to react in terms of our wants and desires; in other words, we tend to believe what we want to believe.

In its simplest terms this general tendency may be reduced to a pattern something like this: "If I accept this proposition I will satisfy my desires and, therefore, I will accept this proposition." In few cases, to be sure, does an individual *consciously* follow such a specific procedure but unless he consciously follows the process of reflective thinking the pattern is consistent with the general picture of emotionalized thought.

In terms of the persistent influence of our desires, then, it is generally true that "We see things not as they are but as we are." [10] It is not easy to distinguish the emotional factors which direct or restrict our thinking since emotional reactions are always a part of an integrated situation and do not exist as discrete entities. Emotional behavior, experience, and the specific situation are inextricably interwoven.[11]

That is to say, our emotionalized thinking comes from a background or "frame of reference" of confused ideologies, stereotypes, biases, desires, traditions, prejudices, susceptibilities, and inhibitions. From the day a baby can understand the spoken word he is

9. *Op. cit.*, pp. 249–251.

10. G. T. W. Parker, quoted by Kimball Young, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1930), p. 33.

11. For a fuller treatment of this point of view see Carney Landis, in Boring, Langfeld, and Weld, *op. cit.*, especially pp. 398 and 418–419.

subject to propagandas, pressures, and restrictions, all of which will inevitably shape his future approach to such problems as war and peace, government, sex, race, and religion.[12] The thought processes of the individual are colored by this background from which he thinks, and when he participates in discussion and debate these colorations and aberrations are not only present but, as we shall see in Chapter XIII, they are often intensified.

To obtain some picture of the ways in which this emotionalized thinking plays a dominant part in our lives we need to consider several further aspects of it. Because these are all derived from the emotional facet of the individual's behavior pattern they may appear to overlap in some degree; but as nearly as component factors of emotionalized thinking may be isolated the six which are discussed below seem apparent. For convenience these six factors are grouped under three descriptive headings: (a) modes of expressing emotionalized thinking, (b) reasons for emotionalized thinking, and (c) results of emotionalized thinking.

A. Modes of Expressing Emotionalized Thinking

The first two factors apparent in a study of emotionalized thinking may be considered together since they both represent modes of expression for this type of thinking. They may be summarized by saying (1) we tend to rationalize, and (2) we tend to confuse desire and conviction.

1. *We tend to rationalize.* In general we may define this mode of emotionalized thinking as a process of alleging rational motives and arguments to justify our nonrational, or nonlogical, beliefs and desires. In other words, we attempt to rationalize or "make rational" that which is nonrational.[13] For example, John Johnson has just been graduated from college and has secured a good job which pays him very poorly at the start. Certain of John's friends, who

12. For a vivid case study of this process in the life of one individual see Frederick K. Lumley, *The Propaganda Menace* (New York, 1933), pp. 366–370.

13. The limitations of the English language are painfully apparent in the opportunity for considerable confusion in the use of the words *rational* and *rationalize*, both of which are derived from the same root. The reader will find the discussion which follows clarified if he will occasionally remind himself of these distinctions: *rational* means reasonable or logical; *nonrational* means unreasoned or alogical; *rationalize* means to attempt to make reasonable or logical.

are receiving higher salaries, have purchased season tickets to the opera and John, in his desire to impress his friends as well as to "keep up with the Joneses," decides that he too must buy a season ticket. Now John well knows that he can't afford the ticket; therefore, his desire might be called nonrational. But he tries to rationalize, or make his desire appear rational, by devising arguments for purchasing the ticket. Attending opera, he decides, will improve him culturally; it will give him an opportunity to associate with people whom he otherwise might not know; and it will provide him with relaxation so that he may attack his work with greater vigor. And, even though it is economically unwise to spend the money, John says that eventually he will be able to afford a season ticket and so he might as well get in the habit of going to opera now.

All of this rationalization, or justification of his nonrational desire, takes place *before* John actually purchases his ticket. In other cases, however, the rationalization may come *after* the performance of a nonrational action as an attempt to justify it. So common is this tendency that many observers have been led to conclude that much of what we call "reasoning" consists simply in building arguments to justify contemplated actions or to justify our continuing to act as we already do. William Jennings Bryan once observed that "it is a poor mind that can't fix up good reasons for doing what it wants to do!"

Even the venerable Benjamin Franklin could "fix up reasons" when principle conflicted with desire. In his *Autobiography* he tells of taking a sea voyage when his ship was becalmed. In order to eat, the sailors caught some cod, but Franklin's philosophical vegetarianism for a time made him resolute in the face of this "unprovoked murder."

But I had formerly been a great lover of fish, and, when this came hot out of the frying-pan, it smelt admirably well. I balanced some time between principle and inclination, till I recollected that, when the fish were opened, I saw smaller fish taken out of their stomachs; then thought I: "If you eat one another, I don't see why we mayn't eat you." So I dined upon cod very heartily, and continued to eat with other people, returning only now and then to a vegetable diet. So convenient a thing it is to be a reasonable creature, since it enables one to find or make a reason for everything one has a mind to do.

As James Harvey Robinson has pointed out, literally thousands of argumentative volumes have been written in order to vent a grudge, and regardless of how stately their reasoning, they are largely rationalizations. "A history of philosophy and theology could be written in terms of grouches, wounded pride, and aversions, and it would be far more instructive than the usual treatment of these themes." [14]

John Dewey has concluded that much of traditional philosophy is rationalization, while Veblen and others have indicated that many of the presuppositions of traditional political economy arise from the same source. Likewise Pareto, the Italian sociologist, supports the conclusion that rationalized beliefs and customs are the basis for all the social sciences.[15]

This is not to say that rationalization, wherever found, is bad *per se*, for, as Hollingworth has pointed out, it is a distinct advance in the civilization of the human race to *want* to be rational. Brigance, in his study of persuasion, has demonstrated this by showing that primitive man was content to rely chiefly upon *authority* and *experience* as bases for his behavior and beliefs, while it is only in more intelligent and more mentally aggressive individuals that we find *reason* as an added determinant of behavior.[16]

What we are saying here is simply that rationalization is frequently employed as a means of resolving an emotional or intellectual conflict. This point will be made more clear as we consider a broad classification of three motives for rationalization.

a. There is a human desire to "be rational." As has been said elsewhere we are apt to be more emotional than rational but we like to believe that we are, and seem to be, purely rational. Indeed, we may become quite emotional when told the contrary! Hence, in pursuing any given course of action, if we are to keep our self-esteem, we may be led subconsciously to rationalize.

b. There is a considerable degree of social pressure upon us for rational justification of our actions. In reacting to this pressure we

14. James Harvey Robinson, *The Mind in the Making* (New York, 1921), p. 45.

15. See John Dewey, *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (New York, 1920), especially pp. 77–102; Thorstein Veblen, *The Place of Science in Modern Civilization* (New York, 1919); and Vilfredo Pareto, *The Mind and Society* (New York, 1935), vol. I, p. 178.

16. See William Norwood Brigance, "A Genetic Approach to Persuasion," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XVII, 3 (June, 1931), pp. 329–339.

may rationalize largely as a defense. As Hollingworth points out "we would, it seems, prefer them [our neighbors] to think that we ourselves believe on the grounds of the logical arguments. Social education, indeed, has taught us that there is something childish about an attitude that lacks cogent support." [17]

On the other hand, there may be times when we have reached a conclusion as a result of a relatively rational thought process, and yet we are keenly aware that this conclusion is contrary to our early education, or is in contrast to the expectations of our own social or political group. In order to present the conclusion to this group it may be necessary to make a nonrational or "short-circuit" appeal. In so doing, the individual is not merely combining logical and emotional (rationalized) motives. Rather, he is organizing them in a deliberate pattern "in which the very motives that are emotionally aroused are given explicit foundation through inductive inferences and deductive conclusions." [18] In such a case we may conclude that the individual is justified since he is using a nonrational technique only to gain the acceptance of a conclusion which he himself has reached upon a rational basis.

c. We may rationalize as a technique of self-persuasion. That is, we may make a conscious and deliberate attempt to persuade ourselves that our desires are "rational." Then we would agree with White that "rationalization consists in attempting to maintain self-respect in the midst of discrediting circumstances," and that we consciously rationalize to safeguard our self-esteem. In such situations, White says, one rationalizes:

(1) by making one's irrational behavior appear rational
(2) by justifying one's improper behavior
(3) by excusing oneself for one's failure
  (a) by declaring the unattainable to be undesirable
  (b) by declaring one's present status to be satisfactory
  (c) by attributing one's failure to some other person, thing or circumstance.[19]

2. *We tend to confuse desire and conviction.* Closely allied with our tendency to rationalize is our tendency to confuse desire and

17. H. L. Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Audience* (New York, 1935), p. 112.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
19. Wendell White, *The Psychology of Dealing with People* (New York, 1936), p. 183. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.

conviction. That is, we tend to believe what we wish to believe. In his pragmatic essay on "The Will to Believe," William James partially justifies this tendency on purely philosophical grounds, but what we are more vitally concerned with here is that this tendency often leads us to accept or reject a proposition not on the basis of the evidence supporting or refuting it but on the basis of whether it is desirable. Thus, if believing that every person over 50 should receive a federal pension of $50 every Thursday satisfies our desire, we may accept that proposition, regardless of any evidence to the contrary. Hence our desire and our belief may become identified.

Belief does not necessarily imply any valid foundation which has been built up through the collection, observation, and examination of evidence. Rather, belief is apt to be a prejudgment, or a conclusion without benefit of evidence, stemming from instruction, tradition, or imitation, and accepted and held because it is desirable, i. e., it appears to our own advantage, supports other already accepted beliefs, or justifies an already determined course of action.

That this tendency to link belief and desire is common will be seen by examining a study of several hundred individuals, most of them college students, as to their own ratings of several hundred propositions on a scale of "belief strength" and on a scale of "desirability." [20] The results of this study show a correlation of over + .80 between "belief" and "desire," a result confirmed by other studies of other experimenters using different propositions and different subjects. As Hollingworth observes, "The most reasonable interpretation is that our beliefs are not dependent upon the available evidence alone, but are definitely warped, even against the evidence, by our desires. In fact, more than half of the determination of our belief in a proposition seems to flow from our desires with respect to its correctness." [21]

B. Reasons for Emotionalized Thinking

The next two factors in our study of emotionalized thinking may also be examined together since they both represent reasons for emotionalized thinking. They may be indicated by observing that

20. F. H. Lund, "The Psychology of Belief," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, XX, 1 (April, 1925), pp. 194–195.
21. *Op. cit.*, pp. 116–117.

(1) we tend to be suggestible, and (2) we tend to succumb to personal appeals.

1. *We tend to be suggestible.* At the outset let suggestion be defined as a process in which a social stimulus operates indirectly in such a way that it elicits an uncritical and more or less automatic response. Unless the suggestion encounters a contradictory idea or attitude it is apt to be uncritically accepted and incorporated into the body of belief which supports our attitudes and judgments. To illustrate this, we may make the general observation that we tend to accept what we read or what we hear—accept it, that is, without making critical analysis of the matter in question. Bronson Alcott characterized the tendency in this way:

> It is not from books entirely that instruction is to be drawn. They should only be subservient to our main purpose. . . . When doubts and uncertainties arise, they may sometimes explain the difficulty and point to the truth. Frequently, however, they lead us astray. . . . *Ideas, when vended in a book, carry with them a kind of dignity and certainty which awe many into implicit belief.* . . . Reason, thus hushed into slumber, sleeps in secure repose. To dare to think, to think for onself, is denominated pride and arrogance. And millions of human minds are in this state of slavery and tyranny.[22]

And the famous Mr. Dooley has left us with the sage observation that "I'll belave anything, if ye only tell it to me often enough."

Why are we thus prone to accept unvalidated and uninvestigated assertion? There are two general explanations. First, we tend to remain in a passive rather than in an active state, and acceptance is a passive state. That is, acceptance is the norm, for it requires less sense of discrimination, less effort, and less mental activity. Doubt, on the other hand, is a variation from the norm since it demands an active questioning or analysis; the state of doubt is reached only as a result of expending some effort. For this simple reason we tend to remain in the passive state of acceptance. Therefore, Clarke's young woman was typically human when she said, "I am satisfied with what I have been taught to believe. It is easy for me to believe it. Why should I trouble myself to study out this matter?"[23]

22. Odell Shepard, ed., *The Journals of Bronson Alcott* (Boston, 1938), pp. 6–7. (Italics ours.)

23. Edwin Leavitt Clarke, *The Art of Straight Thinking* (New York, 1929), p. 45.

A second reason for the potency of suggestion is that belief or acceptance, as opposed to doubt, is a more fundamental process in the history of the human race. That is, the weight of authority, and the poignancy of experience, are the initial determinants of belief and are conducive to passive acceptance. Doubt, on the other hand, developed in the race and in the individual only as reason came to play a larger part in determining beliefs. This tendency to develop the active state of doubt comes slowly with experience and has been called by Alexander Bain "acquired skepticism," a term which aptly indicates the character of doubt as contrasted with acceptance.

In summary we may observe that there are two conditions under which suggestion operates most effectively: [24]

(1) Suggestion must be directed toward an existent response-pattern. That is, there must be an established (neural or habitual) pattern of response which will be set off by the suggestion.
(2) There must be a receptive attitude; that is, there must be no other suggestions operating which will set off stronger or more established response patterns.

With these two prerequisite conditions satisfied, four further conditions under which suggestion is increased may be noted:

(1) Suggestion is increased when there is a lack of adequate knowledge concerning the subject at hand.
(2) Suggestion is increased when it is related to desire—a fundamental want, drive, or belief.
(3) Suggestion is increased by excitement which is usually accompanied by a relaxation of reason.
(4) Suggestion is usually increased when we are in group situations.

Before leaving the matter of suggestion it should be observed that as we are susceptible to suggestion, so we may also be suspicious of suggestion if we recognize it as such. That is, we generally like to think that we are doing our own thinking and are making up our minds without outside interference; and if suggestion is obvious we may be more critical of it. The danger to reflective

24. The use of suggestion in persuasion will be dealt with in Chapter XVI, "Persuasion." For a treatment of the laws of suggestion see H. L. Hollingworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 142–144.

thinking, then, comes when the individual who uses suggestion in lieu of logical reasoning is so skillful that we do not recognize it for what it is.

2. *We tend to succumb to personal appeals.* The second reason for the enkindlement of emotionalized thinking at the expense of reflective thought is the personal appeal which substitutes for logic an implied flattery of the listener.

Long ago William James wrote that "the deepest principle of human nature is the desire to be appreciated,"[25] and it is this principle which is the key to our tendency to succumb to a personal appeal. Such an appeal tends to inflate our ego whether it takes place when we read something addressed to us alone, when an individual seeks us out to speak with us, or when a speaker makes an effort to "reach every individual in his audience."

Overstreet has classed this as the "Putting-It-Up-To-You-Technique,"[26] and suggests that even in a pamphlet on "Habit Training for Children" we are more apt to accept a submitted proposition as true if it is prefaced by asking "Does *your* child have temper tantrums?" rather than by stating that "Many children have temper tantrums." "Here," he says, "is something aimed directly at *you. You* are asked a question. *You* are expected to reply."

In much the same way we know that we are even more susceptible to an appeal which is made personally, by a life insurance agent for example, than to a printed prospectus which submits the same propositions.

Finally, we are aware of the added susceptibility of the listener when the speaker makes use of direct discourse, when he says "you," "we," "our," and so on, thus binding himself and his interests to those of his audience. The use of the personal appeal is not bad, *per se;* what is bad is the substitution of it for rational thought.

C. Results of Emotionalized Thinking

We have now considered two modes of expressing emotionalized thinking and two reasons for emotionalized thinking. A further study of this second level of thought reveals two more factors

25. In a letter to his class at Radcliffe College. Henry James, ed., *Letters of William James* (Boston, 1920), vol. II, pp. 33–34.

26. H. A. Overstreet, *Influencing Human Behavior* (New York, 1925), pp. 18–21.

which may be called the results of emotionalized thinking. We may express these by saying (1) we tend to accept specious argument, and (2) we tend to ignore intellectual appeals.

1. *We tend to accept specious argument.* The term specious argument, as we shall use it here, may be defined as an argument based upon an error in the use of either the materials or the methods of reasoning. We will treat the valid use of the materials of reasoning, or *evidence,* and the methods of reasoning, or *argument,* in Chapters VIII and IX. And in Chapter X we will make a more complete study of specious arguments, often referred to as fallacies.

First it may be profitable to examine a specimen of specious argument. When Galileo, the Italian astronomer of the seventeenth century, announced that he had discovered a new planet, a Florentine astronomer named Francesco Sizzi is supposed to have argued against Galileo's discovery in this way:

> There are seven windows in the head: two nostrils, two eyes, two ears, and a mouth; so in the heavens there are two favorable stars, two unpropitious, two luminaries, and Mercury alone undecided and indifferent. From which and many other similar phenomena of nature, such as the seven metals, etc., which it were tedious to enumerate, we gather that the number of planets is necessarily seven.
>
> Moreover, the satellites are invisible to the naked eye, and therefore can have no influence on the earth, and therefore would be useless, and therefore do not exist.
>
> Besides, the Jews and other ancient nations as well as modern Europeans have adopted the division of the week into seven days and have named them from the seven planets; now, if we increase the number of the planets this whole system falls to the ground.[27]

Here is not one but a series of obviously specious arguments all intended to prove that Galileo's new planet did not exist. For the sake of picturing these arguments clearly let us arrange a few of them into schemas, usually known as syllogisms.

(1) The number of planets cannot exceed the total number of the seven windows in the head.
Seven planets are now known to exist.
Therefore, Galileo cannot have discovered a new planet.

27. Lodge, *Pioneers of Science*, p. 106, cited by R. W. Sellars, *The Essentials of Logic* (Boston, 1917), p. 16.

(2) The number of planets cannot exceed the total number of the seven metals in the earth.
Seven planets are now known to exist.
Therefore, Galileo cannot have discovered a new planet.

(3) What is not visible to the naked eye does not exist.
Galileo's planet is not visible to the naked eye.
Therefore, Galileo's planet does not exist.

The weakness of each of Sizzi's arguments is apparent. But in that day, despite the accelerated pace of scientific discovery, many people accepted these arguments as valid! Since Sizzi's arguments fitted into the scheme of things as they were, whereas Galileo's contention merely served to disrupt the *status quo*, Sizzi's specious arguments were accepted.

With this example in mind we are now ready to ask why we tend to accept specious arguments. In terms of our previous discussion of emotionalized thinking two reasons are clearly indicated.

a. Sometimes we accept specious argument because it enables us to rationalize or justify our nonrational beliefs or attitudes. Because the number seven was traditionally accepted as the unitary measurement of all phenomena, for example, Sizzi's massing of the "evidence" supporting this belief tended to rationalize or justify our Latin forefathers' position. Hence, however specious they may appear to us, they seized upon his arguments to fortify themselves in their belief and to discredit Galileo.

b. Again, we tend to accept specious argument when it will give strength to our desires and we are confusing, consciously or unconsciously, desire and conviction. Of this, too, the attack upon Galileo is illustrative. There was a strong desire to believe only what was already known and accepted. The identification of desire and belief was so complete that the specious argument was uncritically accepted.

2. *We tend to ignore intellectual appeals.* This final factor in emotionalized thinking logically follows our exposition of the other five. The tendency to ignore intellectual appeals is a result of emotionalized thinking, not because we do not want to be rational, but because the other factors we have named tend to take precedence over our reaction to intellectual appeals. As we have already pointed out there is a natural desire to "be rational." And,

as Lund's investigations, already cited, indicate, we not only prefer that our actions should appear rationally determined, but we suppose our own actions to have a more rational basis than have the actions of others.

Woodrow Wilson once observed that "Life is essentially illogical. The world is governed now by a tumultuous sea of commonalities made up of passions, and we should pray God that the good passions outvote the bad passions." This may be putting the case rather strongly. But if we will observe the domination of emotionalized thinking in our own thought processes and in those of our associates we will see not only the inhibitions and restrictions which it places upon the process of reflective thinking, but also the necessity for an improvement of our technique of social inquiry. Says John Dewey, "The essential need . . . is the improvement of the methods and conditions of debate, discussion, and persuasion. That is the problem of the public." [28] The basis of such improvement obviously lies in breaking the domination of emotionalized thinking and the substitution of reflective thought.

IV. Reflective Thinking

We are now ready to examine the highest level of thought, reflective thinking. At the outset we need to re-examine our terminology. *Random thinking*, we have said, is that which takes place when we daydream, when our thoughts wander idly from topic to topic without any definite pattern, and when only by accidental coincidence we come upon a happy idea which may solve a problem. *Emotionalized thinking* we have defined as that type of intellectual activity which is restricted or controlled by basic emotional reactions and derived emotional drives and desires. What we are concerned with now is *reflective thinking* which may be defined as "active, persistent and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in the light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends." [29] That is, we are concerned with the thought process which ordinarily takes place when we are aware of a difficulty, or face a

28. John Dewey, *The Public and Its Problems* (New York, 1927), p. 208.

29. John Dewey, *How We Think* (New York, 1933), p. 9. In his most recent work, *Logic: the Theory of Inquiry* (New York, 1938), Dewey suggests that "thought," in logic, is synonymous with "inquiry."

problem, and attempt to work out a satisfactory termination of the difficulty or a practical solution to the problem.

To begin with, let us confess that no human being achieves the standard of thinking we are about to set up. No individual who has lived in our world of confused ideologies, stereotypes, biases, desires, susceptibilities, and inhibitions can escape their influence entirely, and, insofar as the individual's thinking processes are influenced by these factors, just so far does his thinking fall short of the ideal. For purposes of illustration let us assume that we are entertaining a man from Mars, an individual who is endowed with a normal degree of intelligence, who has none of the restrictions upon his reasoning patterns we have just enumerated and who has come straight from his planet to our home. How would such a man think through one of our current public questions on a basis of ideal reflective thought?

A. Five Phases of Reflective Thought

To answer this question we shall turn, as have many writers before us, to John Dewey's analysis of reflective thinking. In the complete act of reflective thought, he says, we may ordinarily perceive these five fairly distinct steps or phases:

(1) a felt difficulty—the initial awareness of a problem;
(2) location and definition of the problem;
(3) suggestion of solutions of the problem;
(4) rational elaboration of the suggested solutions;
(5) observation and experiment leading to acceptance or rejection of the suggested solutions.[30]

In terms of these five steps we shall try to follow this mythical creature from Mars as he might approach the problem of caring for the aged in our society.

1. *The first step* in reflective thinking is to be aware of the existence of a problem. Our man from Mars might observe that many aged people are apparently without means of support and

30. John Dewey, *How We Think* (Boston, 1910), pp. 68–78. In the revised edition of this book (Boston, 1933), pp. 102–118, Dewey has restated these five steps as: (1) suggestion, (2) intellectualization, (3) hypothesis, (4) reasoning, and (5) testing the hypotheses by action. Because the terminology of the earlier edition is more widely known, and because the basic approach is unaltered in the revised edition, we adhere to the formula of the 1910 edition.

thus feel a difficulty, or be aware of the existence of a problem. Concurrently, of course "the most 'natural' thing for anyone to do is to go ahead . . . to *act* overtly." But action is temporarily arrested because two or more courses of action appear, they conflict, and further inquiry is essential. "Some inhibition of *direct* action is necessary to the condition of hesitation and delay that is essential to thinking. Thought is, as it were, conduct turned in upon itself and examining its purpose and its conditions, its resources, aids, and difficulties and obstacles." [31]

2. *The second step* taken by our mythical Martian who thinks in terms of the standard we have set up would be an attempt to locate and define this difficulty which he feels. Exactly how many aged are without support? Why is support not available? Is this problem related to others or does it stand alone? These and many other questions must be taken up before the problem can be precisely located and defined. The more complex the problem the more exacting must be this second step of the thought process.

3. *The third step* may be the most important—the suggestion of possible solutions for the problem. These may be multiple, some readily seen at first glance, and others becoming apparent only after careful investigation. To make an intelligent choice becomes the key to the reflective thought process. The rat in the laboratory maze would naturally be expected to try first one path and then another in a trial-and-error process of selection. For our purely rational and ideal Martian, however, there are two definite tasks: first, assembling all possible solutions for the problem of the needy aged (private charity support, state institutions, federal grants, etc.) and, second, examining carefully the probable results of the application of each.

4. *The fourth step* of rationally elaborating the suggested solutions is closely related to the third. To assist him in this task, our visiting Martian may call upon those who have some special knowledge of the problem, investigate it first-hand himself, and examine available evidence bearing upon it. In doing this he is gathering evidence and argument, developing his ideas through reasoning, attempting to comprehend all that he learns and to correlate all of the separate elements of the problem into a unified whole.

5. *The fifth and concluding step* is experimentation or testing

31. *Ibid.*, p. 108.

which will lead to verification or rejection of the suggested solution which has been selected after the reasoning of the preceding steps. This step may be undertaken in one of two ways. First, direct observation of the application of the hypothetical solution to the problem may lead to its acceptance or rejection. Or second, this experimentation may take the form of deliberately arranging conditions "in accord with the requirements of an idea or hypothesis to see whether the results theoretically indicated by the idea actually occur." By either method the original solution or hypothesis may be verified or disproved. And even though the suggested solution is rejected, the procedure will not have been without some value; even a failure, as any laboratory technician will testify, may be instructive and lead to a happier result in formulating a new hypothesis or evolving a new solution.

In the long run, of course, the final testing of the solution accepted by the man from Mars (who is thinking on a purely rational basis) must wait upon its enactment into law, its application, and an examination of its efficacy in solving the original problem. This procedure, patently, is not open to us in testing the most likely solutions for all of our personal or social problems. That is to say, even though we may think federal pensions for the needy aged the most likely solution of the problem, we cannot arbitrarily decide to try it for a month in order to test that solution on an experimental basis. Because we cannot do this, it is necessary to emphasize the value of a final rechecking of the evidence and reasoning, a final survey, or a careful retracing of the steps we have taken, as a substitute for a direct-action test.

Although we have detailed this process of reflective thinking as five distinct steps, they are, by the very nature of the process, interrelated and often overlapping. Thus it may be that in applying the formula to certain problems the steps may be telescoped. Or we may come upon the problem in an advanced stage, when, for example, it has already been carefully located and defined, or when one or more solutions have already been tested. It is important to remember, therefore, that, although this process cannot always be followed in a fixed pattern, it does furnish us with an *approach* to ideal reflective thinking. It indicates both a method and a goal.

In this discussion of reflective thinking we have followed John

Dewey's analysis. Many other writers, however, have also attempted to classify and describe the sequential stages of reflective thought and the reader may wish to examine the similar analyses of Helmholtz, the great German physicist, Poincaré, the French mathematician, or Graham Wallas, the noted English political psychologist.[32]

B. A Formula for Reflective Thinking

In Part II, Chapters V–XII, of this book we shall be concerned with the application of reflective thinking to the process of discussion and debate. Here we find that Dewey's five steps in problem-solving can usually be reduced to four. They are:
(1) locating and defining the problem (Chapter V);
(2) exploring the problem (Chapters VI–X);
(3) examining suggested solutions (Chapter XI);
(4) choosing the best solution (Chapter XII).[33]

Under these headings we shall present an approach to that type of intellectual behavior which should be the basis of democratic discussion and debate. We stress the fact that we shall be concerned with *an approach* to reflective thinking for it needs to be emphasized that no formula for reflective thought is in itself a guarantee of an infallible technique of problem-solving. The application is as important as the process. And we have seen the restrictive tendencies of emotionalized thinking are such that no individual is likely to apply any formula perfectly. As a goal at which we can aim constantly, however, some formula for reflective thinking should guide those of us who are to participate in discussion and debate.

READINGS

Burtt, E. A., *Principles and Problems of Right Thinking* (New York, 1928), Chap. 3.

Coyle, G. L., *Social Process in Organized Groups* (New York, 1930), pp. 173–216.

32. See H. V. Helmholtz, *Vorträge und Reden* (Braunschweig, Germany, 1884), Vol. 1, pp. 3–21; H. Poincaré, *Science et Méthode* (New York, 1929); and Graham Wallas, *The Art of Thought* (New York, 1926), pp. 79–107.

33. A fifth step, that of securing acceptance of the selected solution, is often present in the discussion and debate situation. This step will be dealt with in Chapter XVI, "Persuasion."

Dewey, J., *How We Think* (Boston, 1910), pp. 68–78; (rev. ed., Boston, 1933), pp. 102–118.
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EXERCISES

1. Arrange a discussion program on the question "How do we think?" Let each student prepare a three-minute speech commenting upon and illustrating the ideas contained in one of the following statements. Follow the speeches with an informal discussion, under the leadership of a member of the class, upon the information thus presented.

(a) "The discreet and effective showing up of revered prejudices, including the sacred dogmas of all the frantic simplifiers of human riddles, should be at least one of the main precautions to be taken in our efforts to make a good man out of a college boy." (James Harvey Robinson, *The Human Comedy*, p. 334.)

(b) "From the point of view of social welfare, the rationalization appeal is easily capable of abuse, just as is the purely emotional appeal. But it also has its ethically and socially justifiable occasions. These are under circumstances in which the emotional appeal is required in order to arouse initial interest and adequate appreciation of the importance of the topic. Rationalized support of emotionally established convictions may thus lead to concern and action which could not have been aroused without the initial emotional stimulus." (H. L. Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Audience*, pp. 113–114.)

(c) "The writers of formal logic seem to assume that man is but a logical machine, that he weighs evidence, formulates it in the syllogistic order and then reaches the conclusion on which he bases his actions. The more modern conception of man is that he is a creature who rarely reasons at all. Indeed, one of the greatest students of the human mind assures us that most persons never perform an act of pure reasoning, but that all their actions

are results of imitation, habit, suggestion or some related form of thinking which is distinctly below that which could be called reasoning. Our most important actions are performed and our most sacred conceptions are reached by means of the merest suggestion." (Walter Dill Scott, *The Psychology of Public Speaking*, p. 155. By permission of Noble and Noble, publishers.)

(d) Reporting on Nazi propaganda *Life* says: "The message to the crowd is a series of simple, basic, memorable words—nation, people, blood, family, comrade, friend, home, soil, bread, work, strength, hope, life, fight, victory, birth, death, honor, beauty." (*Life* Magazine, May 2, 1940, p. 21.)

(e) "Modern audiences are more homogeneously selected than formerly and their increasing sophistication gives added value to the appearance of logical persuasion, even if the true basis of the appeals is emotional and even if the logic is fallacious." (H. L. Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Audience*, pp. 137–138.)

(f) "Thinking government always provokes a maximum resentment against itself, since the first thing upon which men economize is thought." (Harold J. Laski, *The American Presidency*, p. 265.)

(g) "Any educated man or woman should know what is evidence, should know when a thing is proved and when it is not proved . . . . should know how many interpretations the same rival propositions would fairly bear, and what weight is to be attached to rival authorities." (Viscount Morley, in a speech reported by *The Boston Herald;* see J. M. O'Neill, Craven Laycock, and R. L. Scales, *Argumentation and Debate*, p. vii.)

(h) "The present world crisis is not due to bad heredity, nor to inexorable nature, nor to the Devil, but to bad education in cultivating habits of fear, intolerance, and hate of alien individuals and races, of foreign religions, nations, and ideologies. The peace and progress of mankind depend on the acquiring of habits that make for peace and progress." (Edwin Grant Conklin, in a speech reported by *Time*, July 3, 1939, p. 42.)

(i) "Thinking applies to the entire procedure of arriving at a conclusion. It includes the starting-point, the premises, the equipment for the venture, and the completing stage—the inference. Thinking is supported by observation, perception, memory, imagination, association. The logical technique focuses upon the processes of inference with constant reference to the psychological components. Thinking is the vital movement of mental behavior." (Joseph Jastrow, *Effective Thinking*, p. 14.)

2. The following tests of reflective thinking, summarized by Colum-

bia Associates in Philosophy, *An Introduction to Reflective Thinking*, pp. 330–342, are those upon which nearly all logicians agree.[34]

(a) "*Clarity.* A good belief is unambiguous. We know unmistakably what it means.

(b) "*Consistency with the facts.* A good belief is founded on extensive and accurate observation. It is not contradicted by experience.

(c) "*Consistency with other beliefs.* There is a presumption against a belief that conflicts with other beliefs well certified by experience. Sometimes, however, it is the latter beliefs rather than the former that need to be revised.

(d) "*Utility.* A good belief is often distinguished by its usefulness in suggesting further good beliefs.

(e) "*Simplicity.* Other things being equal, that belief is best which makes fewest assumptions."

From the following list of beliefs select one for careful analysis in terms of the tests suggested above:

(a) The Republican party is the party of prosperity.

(b) The Democratic party is the party of reform.

(c) Where there's a will there's a way.

(d) The study of logic is more important than the study of calculus.

(e) The function of education is the inculcating of socially useful habits.

(f) Nationalization of the munitions industry will prevent possible wars of aggression.

(g) A child born under the zodiacal sign of the Lion will be courageous.

(h) All men are created equal in capacity for achievement.

(i) Long, slender hands indicate an artistic nature.

3. Write a short case history (300–500 words) of a personal experience which illustrates one of the six factors of emotionalized thinking.

4. Select a current campus problem and prepare a three-minute speech outlining the steps in reflective thinking as they might be utilized in its consideration.

5. Select a newspaper editorial which exhibits one of the six factors of emotionalized thinking; analyze it, and suggest ways in which it might be counteracted.

34. By permission of The Houghton Mifflin Company, publishers.

PART II

The Problem

CHAPTER V

Locating and Defining the Problem

We have seen that only rarely does the human animal indulge in reflective thinking, although he may *think* he thinks reflectively. When an individual rises above the level of random thinking and makes a conscious effort to resolve a perplexing situation, his so-called thinking is apt to be highly emotionalized. Innumerable obstacles of training and experience lie between him and the goal of reflective thought. To attain that goal the individual must clear away these obstacles by discovering and using a methodology for true reflective thinking. In this and succeeding chapters we will consider a methodology built upon four separate steps:

(1) locating and defining the problem (Chapter V);
(2) exploring the problem (Chapters VI–X);
(3) examining suggested solutions (Chapter XI);
(4) choosing the best solution (Chapter XII).

To assert that the student who follows this method in the investigation of a given problem will inevitably come upon *the* solution for the problem would be foolish. No infallible method of reflective thinking has yet been devised, nor is one likely to be. Reflective thinking, it must be remembered, does not furnish the *answer* to problems but only suggests a *method* of discovering the answers to problems on a rational, as opposed to an emotional, basis.

It is quite possible that four men might each investigate the same problem, following the general method of reflective thinking, and yet come upon different solutions. This might be the result of slight variations in their methods, the use of different evidence, different weighting of the same evidence, etc. In such a

circumstance, however, it would be essential to recognize that any one of these four solutions reached by a process of reflective thinking probably would be superior to a solution arrived at by emotionalized thinking. This does not mean that emotionalized thinking and reflective thinking must always result in different solutions. By coincidence emotionalized thinking (or even random thinking) *may* lead to the same solution indicated by reflective thought. Even in such a case, however, the superior solution would be the one arrived at by a careful study of *all* of the available evidence, and *all* of the argument bearing on the problem.

I. Isolating the Specific Problem

The initial step in locating and defining the problem is to isolate it so that it may be brought into sharp, clear, and specific focus for further investigation. The isolation of a problem will be facilitated by answering the questions which follow.

A. What Type of Problem Is It?

In determining the type of problem with which we are dealing there are two possible bases of classification: (1) Is the problem one for discussion or one for debate? and (2) Is the problem one of policy, one of belief, or one of fact?

1. *The problem for discussion and the problem for debate.*

a. *The problem for discussion* may not be concerned with finding a solution, *per se*. That is, the specific problem may not yet have taken form and we may only be aware of a difficulty, or a perplexing situation. In such a case we may be interested only in establishing a general point of view or a point of departure for further investigation. "What is wrong with American capitalism?" might be such a problem for discussion. In this case we would not be prepared to debate a proposed solution since we would not yet have investigated the problem sufficiently to uncover the specific ailments which needed remedial attention. "What is the status of American labor?" "Is there a need for a federal housing program?" and "What are civil liberties?" are other typical problems for discussion which are still in the exploratory stage.

b. *The problem for debate*, on the other hand, is ordinarily one

which has been specifically defined and thoroughly explored. The investigation has reached the stage of searching for a solution or of determining the validity of a proposed solution. Such a problem, recently used in intercollegiate debating, was "Resolved, that the National Labor Relations Board should be empowered to enforce compulsory arbitration in all industrial disputes." There the exploratory steps were assumed to have been taken and a definite proposal for the solution of a specific problem was in order. "Is membership in the CIO for the best interests of American labor?" "Resolved, that the United States should form an alliance with Great Britain to oppose the further spread of fascism" and "Should the federal government own and operate the railroads?" are further examples of problems for debate where a definite solution is being advocated.

The way in which a problem for discussion is differentiated from a problem for debate may be made clear by observing the process of congressional legislation. In the Foreign Affairs Committee, for example, the problem for investigation may be stated as "What should America do about her foreign trade in times of war abroad?" That is obviously a problem for discussion, one which is still in the exploratory stage. A month later, after locating, defining, and exploring the specific problem, and after listening to advocates of numerous proposed solutions, the Committee may report out a bill entitled "An act to provide for the licensing of all shipments of goods to foreign nations engaged in warfare." Thus the problem will have now become one for debate since a specific solution is advocated.

2. *The problem of fact, of belief, and of policy.*

a. *The problem of fact* simply calls for the ascertainment of certain truths or factual bases. It is not concerned with belief or with the wisdom or desirability of adopting a specific proposal. It is one that can be settled by reference to available and authoritative sources. "Has trade between the United States and Canada increased since the signing of the reciprocity treaty?" is a problem of fact. It may be settled by referring to the *World Almanac*, the *Statesman's Yearbook*, or the annual reports of the Commerce Department. Other such problems which may be solved by investigation rather than by argumentation are: "What is the current

national income?" "Has Cleveland's 'Save a Life' campaign decreased traffic accidents?" or "How much will a thousand-dollar life insurance policy cost me?"

b. *The problem of belief* is concerned with belief in, or approval of, a specific proposal. It does not necessarily depend upon an ascertainment of facts for its answer, nor does it always demand support for enacting a specific proposal. Sometimes, indeed, it is impossible to provide a conclusive factual basis for an answer. "Would a federal union of leading democracies bring world peace?" is a problem of belief. We may believe that a union would bring peace and yet not be able to prove it, and we may not be willing to approve steps to create such a union. Other problems of belief are: "Will a greater percentage of eligible voters cast ballots in 1944 than in 1940?" "Resolved, that the policy of relief to the unemployed should be condemned," or "Would it be wise for me to invest in a thousand-dollar life insurance policy?"

c. *The problem of policy* is usually concerned with the validity, feasibility, or desirability of a certain course of action or a specific solution. Thus "Resolved, that this organization establish a consumer co-operative," deals with a problem of policy and asserts that such a program or policy would be desirable. Other examples are: "Resolved, that Oberlin College adopt the St. John's College plan of education," "I move that a committee be appointed to investigate the problem of sewage disposal facilities in the village of Hartford," or "Shall we send a delegate to the state convention?"

Thus we see that the three different types of problem represent different ways of investigating or approaching a given matter. The end in view automatically determines the type of any given problem. The problem of fact is concerned with the question "Is this a fact?" The problem of belief asks "Is this probably true?" And the problem of policy inquires "Ought we to do this?"

In summary we illustrate the three types of problems with a single subject. "Has the change from a craft to an industrial union benefited the employees of the Gamma factory?" is a *question of fact*, the answer to which may be readily ascertainable. "Would the replacement of all craft unions by industrial unions benefit American labor?" however, is a *question of belief*, for it predicates a complex situation where ascertainment of specific facts may be impossible, and it does not imply definite action. "Should all craft

unions be replaced by industrial unions?" is a *question of policy*, calling for a decision upon the wisdom of taking action upon a specific proposal.

B. In What General Class Does the Problem Belong?

A second factor to be considered in the task of isolating the specific problem is its relation to a general class. This step is important as a guide to later investigation when searching for evidence; as the first step in determining the basic assumptions upon which it rests; and for determining its relationships to other problems. Suppose that a general problem for investigation has been stated as follows: "What is to be done to provide relief for the unemployed of Orlando County?" Here we have a problem that appears to fall into the general field of social welfare and charity, but a little further investigation will indicate that it more specifically falls into the general class of social security. With this classification established, our search for evidence in the form of observed facts, testimony of authorities, etc., is made easier. In addition we are better prepared to take the next steps in isolating the specific problem.

Other problems and the general classes into which they fall are: "What can be done to improve the sanitary conditions in the Blank Factory?" (labor relations or public health); "How may we control the competition of cheap Japanese light bulbs with domestic products?" (foreign trade); and "How may the city of Mirama obtain better fire-fighting equipment?" (taxation).

C. What Are the General Assumptions upon Which the Class Rests?

Having determined the general class into which our given problem falls the next step is to discover the general assumption, or assumptions, upon which that class of problems rests. If, for example, we are still working on the general problem, "What is to be done to provide relief for the unemployed of Orlando County?" and we have determined that it falls into the general class of social security problems, our next step is to discover the basic assumptions inherent in problems concerning social security. We discover two distinct viewpoints, each resting upon a different assumption. The first assumes that each individual member of society is responsible

for his own welfare, responsible for no one else's, and that no one else is responsible for his. The second possible viewpoint is based upon the assumption that society as a whole, functioning in terms of a federal government, is responsible for the welfare of each individual member of that society. Which of these general assumptions is more widely held and which one is more nearly correct are important points for investigation.

Perhaps a sharper illustration of this step in isolating the specific problem may be seen in this question, "Would a federal union of the United States and Great Britain tend to bring world peace?" Here we have a definite proposal in the field of collective international security which rests upon the general assumptions that war is undesirable and that steps should be taken to outlaw it.

D. Is It a Single Problem?

One of the more common faults of the leader or participant in discussion and debate is a tendency to oversimplify. "The solving of the union strike at the Blank Plant is simple—just raise wages ten cents an hour!" A more complete understanding of the problem might show, however, that the Blank Plant is already losing money and that a wage raise of ten cents an hour would force the plant to close down. Or it might show that the Blank Plant is operating in a highly competitive industry and that to raise wages would force a price raise which would be disastrous to Blank sales. Or railroad rates may have been raised recently with a resulting increase in the cost of Blank's raw materials so that even a lowering of wages may be necessary if Blank is to remain in business. Thus it is quite possible that a complete investigation of the problem at hand may show it to be incapable of isolation.

Certain problems, on the other hand, may be single and clearly capable of isolation: "Which car in the $1000 price class represents the best buy for me?" or "Should stock brokers be subjected to federal regulation?"

E. If It Is Not a Single Problem What Are Its Relationships with Other Problems?

If the problem at hand is not a single one then one further step must be taken in isolating it. That step is the discovery of its relationship with other problems, a tracing of its ramifications, a demarcation

of its general limits, and an investigation of related problems. To do this for the problem of the Blank Plant strike it would be necessary to discover the exact nature of the related problems of general business conditions, price control, monopoly, and transportation, to the problem of wages at the Blank Plant. Just how closely are these problems related? How much do they affect the wage problem? What effect would a solution of the wage problem have upon these related problems? And so on.

II. Stating the Problem

When the specific problem has been isolated, the next step is to state it in clear and definite language, not only that it may be understood but so that it may not be misunderstood.

A. In What Ways May the Problem Be Stated?

In general, the type of statement into which it is resolved will depend upon the state of the problem at the time of its discussion and the general purpose for which the discussion or debate is held. These general purposes may be (1) to locate and define the problem, (2) to explore the problem, (3) to examine suggested solutions, (4) to choose the best solution, and (5) to secure acceptance of the selected solution. To illustrate the ways in which a problem may be stated for each of these general purposes we may consider the question of raising dues which confronts the members of the Iota Club.

1. *To locate and define the problem.* Here the problem is in its most elementary stage and the members are primarily concerned with obtaining general information. Thus their problem may be stated simply as "For what purpose does this club have dues?"

2. *To explore the problem.* For the next stage in their discussion the Iota Club members may consider the problem restated as "Are the present dues adequate to meet the needs of the club?"

3. *To examine suggested solutions.* When the problem of club dues has been located and defined and explored the club members may have concluded that more income is necessary. The problem therefore becomes "What methods are available to raise more money for the club?"

4. *To choose the best solution.* After a consideration of the pos-

sible ways by which money may be raised the problem becomes one of deciding "Which of these suggested methods seems most desirable?"

5. *To secure acceptance of the selected solution.* By now the members of the Iota Club have considered a number of solutions for the problem confronting them and John Black becomes anxious to settle it and says, "I move that the Iota Club levy a special assessment of one dollar per member."

Depending upon the nature of the group concerned, the problem may be stated as a question, a motion, or a resolution. In a formal debate, for example, the problem considered above might be stated "Resolved, that the Iota Club should levy a special assessment of one dollar per member." Other typical statements of problems in the stage of initiating action on a specific solution might be:

"Should New Deal 'pump-priming' be continued?"

"Resolved, that the present foreign policy of Japan be approved."

"I move that this association give its support to the Ludlow amendment."

"Can the democracies stop the spread of fascism by forming a federal union?"

"Resolved, that the federal government immediately nationalize the munitions industry."

B. What Principles Govern the Stating of the Problem?

Whether the problem under investigation be stated in the form of a question, a motion, or a resolution, there are certain general principles governing its statement which should be observed in the interests of accuracy, efficiency and clarity. Eight of these principles follow.

1. *The statement should not be too broad.* The problem should be stated in its narrowest and most precise terms. "Resolved, that civilization has advanced further in the past ten years than during the preceding century," is obviously a statement so broad and one which may possibly include so many fields that it becomes unwieldy. On the other hand, "Resolved, that the advance of civilization, measured in terms of the control and prevention of disease, has been greater in the past ten years than in the preceding century," makes explicit the intent of the statement and limits the field of discussion to a reasonable area. When, as in this case, the

problem at hand cannot be specifically isolated, the limitations or relations with other problems should be made as explicit as possible.

2. *The statement should not employ ambiguous words.* In the first awkward statement of the question above the word "civilization" is ambiguous for it might refer to progress in the art of government, the art of war, *belles lettres,* medicine, science, and so on. As restated, however, "civilization" is clearly delimited to the fields of "control and prevention of disease." A question recently debated by an Australian team touring the United States and Canada was stated, "Resolved, that civilization has more to fear from the intelligentsia than from the masses." Because of the ambiguity of this statement we must immediately ask—just what is meant by "civilization?" What does "more to fear" mean? Who are the "intelligentsia"? And what are "the masses"? To be ambiguous in the statement of a problem is to offer an open invitation for misunderstanding and misrepresentation.

Closely allied with the ambiguous word is the "question-begging" or one-sided word. When a statement reads "Resolved, that the wasteful policy of 'priming the pump' with Federal funds be condemned," it is so prejudiced by the word "wasteful" that any discussion based upon it would be one-sided and useless. Avoid arousing emotional responses.

3. *The statement should contain only words that may be clearly defined.* Words used in the statement of a problem which cannot be adequately defined according to any of the accepted methods sacrifice clarity and result in confusion. Our first reaction upon meeting a strange word is to define it from the context of the sentence. If that fails to enlighten us we may have recourse to a dictionary. However, even though the dictionary may be an authoritative one, it may frequently fail us by defining the word only in some sense other than that in which it was obviously used. In such a case we must look further to some of the traditional methods of definition. Each of these methods may be illustrated by attempting to define the word "environment" as it appears in this sentence taken from a recent textbook in educational psychology—"In the very nature of things . . . the environment of the average new-born infant is filled with learning situations that are inevitably socialized in character."

a. *Methods of definition.*

(1) *Usage.* This method is particularly fruitful when combined with reference to a good dictionary. The dictionary tells us that environment is "whatever encompasses; one's surroundings or external circumstances collectively." If we find that the word is commonly used in this sense we may consider the dictionary definition adequate. For words which are not included in it we may have to rely solely upon common usage. This was once true of *speakeasy*, and might now be true of *blitzkrieg* or *jitterbug*.

(2) *Derivation.* While we are looking in the dictionary we may also investigate the derivation or etymology of the word *environment* and find that it is an English adaptation of the French word *environner*, derived from *environ*, and meaning "around."

(3) *Authority.* What is often considered the best method of definition is to secure a statement from a person who, because of special training or acquaintance in a particular field, is recognized as competent. This would be most true in cases of highly technical words. To secure another definition of *environment* we might refer to Kimball Young, professor of social psychology in Queens College. He speaks of *environment* "as it is made up of other human beings and the material world as men have modified it." [1] Because an authority may be using a term in a restricted sense for a special purpose, it is unwise to rely solely upon this method.

(4) *Comparison.* By comparing the word in question with other words, especially those which are almost synonymous, a further method of definition may be utilized. For this purpose we might compare *environment* with *habitat* or *surroundings*.

(5) *Contrast.* By this method we may define what a word does *not* mean. Thus a psychologist might define *environment* by saying that "it is that influence upon the individual which comes neither from his own original nature or heredity, or from his present adapted and modified nature." This method is especially helpful in differentiating between words which may easily be confused.

b. *Requisites of a good definition.*

There are certain requisites of definition, if it is to obtain clarity and accuracy. In terms of the discussion or debate situation, these requisites are five in number.

(1) *A good definition should be applicable to all situations or*

1. Kimball Young, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1930), pp. 4–5.

to all individuals included in the term defined. That is, a good definition of the word *animal* must be comprehensive enough to include jaguars and anteaters as well as horses and elephants.

(2) *A good definition should not be applicable to any situations or individuals not included in the term defined.* If one is offering "a group of undergraduate students interested in current affairs of government" as a definition of the American Student Union, the definition would obviously be inadequate for it might be equally applicable to the International Relations Club, the Public Affairs Society, or the Veterans of Future Wars.

(3) *A good definition should not include the term being defined or any derivative of it.* If, for example, one says that "Pragmatism is that philosophy which is based upon verification of truths by the pragmatic test," we know no more about *pragmatism* than before the definition was given.

(4) *A good definition should be stated in terms which are simpler than the term being defined.* When we read that a *fluoroscope* is "a device for observing, by means of some fluorescent substance, the shadows of objects enclosed in media opaque to ordinary light, but transparent to Roentgen rays," we may find that there are terms included in the definition which themselves need definition before we can understand what a fluoroscope is. Unless we know the meanings of *fluorescent substance*, *opaque*, and *Roentgen rays*, still simpler terms are needed.

(5) *A good definition should be stated in terms which are suited to the particular audience.* This is perhaps the most important requisite of a definition in the public discussion or debate situation; for, even though all of the other requisites be met, if the audience for which the definition is intended cannot understand it, the whole effort is without value. As Poincaré, the brilliant French mathematician, observed, "No man knows anything about higher mathematics until he can explain it to the man in the street." An audience of physicists, for example, might easily understand the technical definition of a *fluoroscope* given above. But that same group of physicists might not understand the meaning of *chiasm* if it were defined as "a decussating or X-like commissure which unites the optic nerves." And to the layman a pain in the neck is a pain in the neck and not a "cervical myalgia"!

4. *The statement should be complete.* To use the terminology

of the grammarian, it should be a single simple or a complex declarative sentence, and not a compound sentence or a single term. If we try to discuss the statement that "Compulsory military training is a good thing for some college students, but for most of them it is a waste of time and contrary to their religious beliefs," we will find that we really have three problems: (a) Is compulsory military training good for certain students? (b) Is it a waste of time for most students? (c) Does it conflict with the religious beliefs of most students? The statement would be more useful and accurate if it read "Although compulsory military training is admittedly a good thing for some students, it is undesirable because it conflicts with the religious beliefs of the majority."

Similarly, we will find that a single term, such as "compulsory military training," or "fascism," cannot easily be discussed or debated, for in neither case is a point of view or a problem expressed. Even when we do attempt to discuss a term such as "fascism" it very likely implies a fully stated question, and in the interest of clarity that question should be made explicit, as "Does the existence of fascism in Europe threaten American democracy?"

5. *For a discussion the statement should be in question form.* Best suited to stimulate discussion of a problem is the impartial question, such as "Is the South the nation's number one economic problem?" or "How may we best provide for the security of the Western Hemisphere?" The question form of stating the problem is unprejudiced, it is compelling, it is more provocative than a dogmatic proposition, and, because it implies "a disease needing a cure," it tends to stimulate a more diagnostic and reflective approach to thinking about it.

The experience of the American Institute of Public Opinion in formulating questions for the weekly "Gallup Polls" suggests the following criteria which may be helpful to the leader of public discussion or debate:

(1) The questions should be as brief and to the point as possible. Long conditional or dependent clauses tend to confuse people.
(2) The words and phrases should be simple and in common day-to-day use among all groups in the community.
(3) The questions should not include words which have strong emotional content.

(4) The questions must avoid all possible bias or suggestion in favor of or against a particular point of view.
(5) The questions should include all the important alternatives which may emerge on a given issue.
(6) When the individual is being asked to choose between different alternatives, this choice of alternatives must be given as early in the question as possible.[2]

6. *For a debate the statement should be in proposition, motion, or resolution form.* When a problem has reached the stage when action is called for it should assert a specific solution or a definite point of view, and for this purpose the proposition, motion, or resolution form is most efficient. Which of these three forms the statement for debate takes depends entirely upon the nature of the group participating in or listening to the debate.

A speaker before a public-forum audience, for example, might use the proposition form: "The State of Ohio should adopt a gross income tax." In a civic taxpayers' association one member might initiate the debate by using the motion form: "I move that this association go on record as favoring the adoption of a state gross income tax." If the proposal comes before a Rotary Club as a debate between two guest speakers the resolution form might be employed: "Resolved, that a state gross income tax is in the best interests of the businessmen of Ohio."

7. *For a debate the statement should be conducive to an establishment of probable validity or nonvalidity.* This does not mean that the debater must be able to "prove" his proposition in a final and conclusive sense, but only that the proposition should be stated in such a way that a *probability* of validity or nonvalidity may be established. If this is not true of the statement any debate based upon it becomes futile in that no reasonable conclusion may be drawn. "Resolved, that the Irish have contributed more to the development of America than the Germans," is a typical statement of this kind.

It should be noted in this connection that a statement which is obviously valid or invalid is equally objectionable for purposes of debate. A statement such as "The *only* way to provide for social

2. George Gallup and Saul Forbes Rae, *The Pulse of Democracy* (New York, 1940), p. 101. By permission of Simon and Schuster, publishers.

security is by adoption of the Townsend Plan," is obviously false since there are other ways to provide social security.

8. *For a debate the statement should set forth a conclusion that the affirmative wishes the audience to accept.* "He who affirms must prove," says the law, and we presume an accused man innocent until he is proved guilty. The duty of proving any case rests upon those demanding a change; until cause can be shown for making the change the present status should prevail. Thus we derive the principle often referred to as "placing the burden of proof on the affirmative." This means simply that ordinarily the affirmative advocates a change from the *status quo;* while the negative upholds the *status quo,* entertaining the presumption that it is satisfactory. The obvious advantage of giving the burden of proof to the affirmative is that it makes the conflict immediately apparent. Thus "Resolved, that socialism should supplant capitalism in America," is a better statement than "Resolved, that capitalism should be maintained in America," since the *status quo* is capitalism and the advocated change is socialism.

There may be occasions when a particular audience favors the proposed change from the *status quo* and the burden of proof thereby rests with the negative. "Resolved, that the Townsend Act should be adopted," as a statement for debate before a Townsend Club would be such an example. In such cases it is advisable to restate the question so that the affirmative presents the "opposition" point of view, even though it thereby defends the *status quo.* "Resolved, that existing legislation provides adequate security for the aged," might be a more desirable statement in this case.

In summary, we have seen that the initial task in dealing with any problem is that of locating and defining it. The first step is isolating the specific problem, undertaken by seeking answers to these questions: (1) What type of problem is it? (2) In what general class does the problem belong? (3) What are the general assumptions upon which the class rests? (4) Is it a single problem? (5) If not, what are its relationships with other problems? When the specific problem has been isolated the next step in locating and defining it is to phrase it into a clear and concise statement. The following principles of statement should be observed: (1) the statement should not be too broad; (2) the statement should not employ ambiguous words; (3) the statement should include only

words that may be clearly defined; (4) the statement should be complete; (5) for a discussion the statement should be in question form; (6) for a debate the statement should be in proposition, motion, or resolution form; (7) for a debate the statement should be conducive to an establishment of probable validity or nonvalidity; and (8) for a debate the statement should set forth the conclusion that the affirmative wishes the audience to accept.

READINGS

Baird, A. C., *Public Discussion and Debate* (Boston, 1937), Chap. II.
Burtt, E. A., *Principles and Problems of Right Thinking* (New York, 1928), Chap. 14.
Gallup, G., and Rae, S. F., *The Pulse of Democracy* (New York, 1940), Chap. 7.
Jastrow, J., *Effective Thinking* (New York, 1931), Chap. 14.
McBurney, J. H., and Hance, K. G., *The Principles and Methods of Discussion* (New York, 1939), Chap. V.
Nichols, A., *Discussion and Debate* (New York, 1941), pp. 113–125 and 243–269.

EXERCISES

*1. Select a problem which you plan to use as the basis for intensive study for the rest of the semester. (a) Following the procedure outlined in this chapter, draw up an analysis which will isolate the problem; (b) bearing in mind the principles suggested in this chapter, phrase it in a clear and concise statement.

(*Note:* In the exercises following each chapter in Part II will be found one or more concerned with the individual study of the problem chosen in the above exercise. Such exercises will be first in each list and will be marked with an asterisk. Carrying out these exercises, one at a time, will result in the fashioning of a large body of information which will be put into a brief in the final exercise of the series.)

2. Bring to class five recent newspaper editorials, writing out for each one the implied proposition upon which it is based.

3. Write out a statement of each of the following five problems. Designate whether each is (a) a problem for discussion or debate, in terms of your own thinking about it, and (b) a problem of fact, belief, or policy.

(a) Subsidization of college athletes.
(b) The enactment of a federal sales tax.
(c) Adequate care for indigent sick.
(d) The organization of a campus book-study club.

(e) The organization of a world-wide political unit.

4. Outline a two-minute speech on one of the following topics:

(a) Why a "term" cannot be debated.
(b) The difference between problems for discussion and problems for debate.
(c) The nature and place of the "burden of proof."
(d) Why a debate would not be profitable upon this proposition: "Resolved, that earthquakes are more destructive than floods."
(e) Why it is important to know the assumptions upon which a given class of problems rests.

5. Select five problems representing each of the five stages of discussion and debate and phrase a statement of each one. Classify each statement according to the stage it represents.

6. Examine each of the following statements of problems and evaluate its propriety for discussion or debate by members of your class:

(a) Should the federal government remain permanently in business?
(b) Is America ready for industrial democracy?
(c) Can we eliminate graft in government?
(d) Should the United States Constitution be amended, and if so, why?
(e) Resolved, that in all fairness wealth should also be conscripted in time of war.
(f) I move that this assembly oppose federal highways.
(g) Resolved, that our college should awaken to the necessity for more academic freedom.
(h) How can we get the most out of this course?
(i) Should the pernicious use of diplomatic appointments as political rewards be continued?
(j) Will the study of cultural or practical subjects in college make a man's life happier?

CHAPTER VI

Exploring the Problem: Research

In the last chapter we began our study of a methodology of reflective thinking by attempting to locate and define the problem at hand. With the problem isolated and stated in some workable form we are now ready to explore it in greater detail, seeking for evidence and formulating arguments. This task of exploration demands a certain amount of research—searching for, reading, and recording relevant material. In order that our research may be conducted as efficiently as possible, we shall consider a general research procedure to be followed in exploring the problem.

As the first step in exploring the problem we must discover material pertaining to it. Then we must know how to investigate this material and get the most out of it. And, finally, we must know how to record such portions of the material as we may want to preserve for future use.

I. Searching for Material

The list of sources which follows is obviously not intended to be definitive. At best, it is suggestive, and the reader who seeks information concerning a particular problem will be wise to exercise his ingenuity in discovering all possible sources. The process of true reflective thinking recognizes no maximum amount of knowledge on any subject.

A. General Indexes

1. The library card catalogue is a fruitful starting point for exploration. Here material is usually indexed under title, subject matter, and author's name.

2. The *Reader's Guide* is an index to general periodicals such as the *Atlantic Monthly, Foreign Affairs Quarterly, Fortune, Forum, Harpers,* the *Nation,* and the *New Republic.* This publication indexes periodicals since 1900, while *Poole's Index* (1938, revised edition) indexes the period 1802–1906.

3. In specialized fields similar indexes are available, such as the *Educational Index* and the *Industrial Arts Index.* A general reference for these fields, since 1920, is the *International Index to Periodicals.*

4. The *New York Times Index* indexes that newspaper since 1913, while the *New York Tribune Index* indexes that newspaper for an earlier period, 1865–1903. One of the most fruitful ways of using these newspaper indexes is in obtaining dates of events, speeches, and so on, in order to check them in periodicals and other newspapers. To discover where files of newspapers published in the period 1821–1936 are available refer to *American Newspapers.* An index of all newspapers currently published, listed by state and town, will be found in the annual *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals* (known as "Ayer's Directory"). This directory includes data concerning publisher, editor, circulation, affiliation, and so on.

5. *Public Affairs Pamphlets,* published by the United States Office of Education, is a genuinely useful index to privately published pamphlets dealing with economic, international, political, and social affairs.

6. *Time* magazine also publishes an annual index which is valuable in referring to *Time* and may also be used to date material in other periodicals.

7. Books in print have been indexed, from time to time, since 1876. The *United States Catalogue of Books in Print in 1928* and subsequent supplements are indexed by author and subject, and also list the publisher, date of publication, and purchase price.

B. General References

1. Encyclopedias such as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* or the *Encyclopedia Americana* are often helpful in furnishing fairly comprehensive articles.

2. Yearbooks of various sorts are most valuable in furnishing

more up-to-date information. Among these are the *Statesman's Yearbook,* and the *World Almanac.*

3. Government publications often contain much information not to be found in other sources. Among these are the *Congressional Record,* Congressional *Hearings,* the *Statistical Abstract,* and numerous documents, pamphlets, and bulletins. Information regarding available publications of this sort can be had from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C.

4. Special reference volumes such as those in the *Reference Shelf* and *Debate Handbook* series deal with selected topics and usually include helpful bibliographies. Two annual publications, *Intercollegiate Debates* and *The University Debaters Annual,* include intercollegiate debates, briefs, and bibliographies on a number of current questions.

5. For information as to living individuals whose testimony is being considered, a limited amount of biographical data may be found in *Who's Who in America.* Another excellent reference work, dealing only with persons not now living, is the *Dictionary of American Biography.* It contains not only the essential biographical data concerning thousands of distinguished Americans, but also lists the chief references for each, such as biographies, periodical sketches, and collections of letters and papers. A similar work covering Englishmen is also often useful. The *Congressional Directory,* published for each session of Congress by the United States Government Printing Office, is valuable for short biographies of all members of Congress and for its listing of the personnel of all federal government boards, bureaus, courts, commissions and other agencies.

6. Another type of general reference material is the public-opinion poll, a scientific sampling of voter opinion on various current, public questions. One such poll is published quarterly in *Fortune* magazine, while the American Institute of Public Opinion surveys (often referred to as the Gallup polls) are published in a number of leading newspapers. Monthly polls of American women's opinions are published in the *Ladies' Home Journal.*

7. Still another source of general reference are organizations such as the American Federation of Labor, the City Managers' Association, and the League for Industrial Democracy. A list of nearly

nine hundred such associations and societies, most of which are prepared to furnish material in the field of their special interest, is to be found in the *World Almanac*. Special care must be taken in evaluating those materials, of course, since the organizations obviously exist for their purpose of pleading their own causes.

8. These series of publications, dealing with current controversial issues, are often helpful sources of information:

(a) *Public Affairs Pamphlets*, Public Affairs Committee, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York. Each pamphlet deals with a problem of current importance and contains, also, a selected bibliography.

(b) *Handbook for Discussion Leaders*, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, New York, 1940. Materials on eight of "America's problems as affected by international relations," and a section on discussion methods.

(c) *Defense Papers* and *Defense Digests*, American Association for Adult Education, 60 E. 42nd St., New York, 1941. Materials and reading lists for discussion of various phases of national defense.

(d) *Headline Books*, Foreign Policy Association, 8 W. 40th St., New York. Each booklet treats an economic problem, and its bearings on international relations.

(e) *Current Issues Study*, Town Hall, Inc., 123 W. 43rd St., New York. Questions and reading lists, published four times a year, for discussion groups listening to "America's Town Meeting of the Air."

(f) *The Complete Handbook*, Platform News Publishing Co., Portland, Maine. Study outlines, suggested briefs and evidence on the national debate question. Published annually.

(g) *Congressional Digest*, 2131 LeRoy Place, Washington, D.C. Published monthly during the school year, with each issue devoted to the pro-and-con treatment of a single topic.

(h) *Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs*, Oxford University Press, Amen House, 480 University Ave., Toronto, Canada. Each pamphlet deals with a phase of international politics.

(i) *World Affairs Books*, World Peace Foundation, 40 Mt. Vernon St., Boston. Each booklet considers some phase of international relations.

II. How to Read

One of the most common wastes of time is an inefficient reading habit. All too often the person who says, "I just haven't had time to read that book," really means, "I don't know how to make the best use of my time when reading." The art of intelligent reading cannot be taught here and probably not in any other book. The most that can be done is to suggest a few basic principles of intelligent and efficient reading.

A. Read with a Definiteness of Purpose

If the reader is searching for particular information he must be continually on the outlook for it. We don't usually just "read for information," but for information about a particular subject or a special phase of that subject. To achieve that purpose we need to narrow our range of attention to material relevant to our particular problem.

If our mental habits are good, we usually unconsciously do a bit of "mental housecleaning" so that our approach to reading may be as objective as possible, free of preconceived notions, stereotypes, and prejudices. Only if we do this can our minds be truly receptive to all of the information that we read. This does not mean, of course, that one should read uncritically. It does mean that reading should not be done with the preconceived idea of belief or disbelief, but with a neutral mind capable of weighing and evaluating the material. Bacon long ago offered this sage advice on the art of reading: "Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider."

B. Read Rapidly

This advice does not mean to read so hurriedly that no sense of what has been read is retained, but it does mean to cultivate the habit of rapid and comprehensive reading. It is desirable to be able to read by "skimming," glancing rapidly from top to bottom of a page and picking up only those ideas which are new, informative, or unfamiliar. To intensive self-training in this sort of reading, Theodore Roosevelt, an omnivorous reader, attributed not only his ability to read much but also his ability to digest and retain

much that he read. One rapid reading followed by a more particularized reading for specific facts often requires less time than one word-by-word reading and is likely to yield better results.

C. Read Systematically and Selectively

To search the *Reader's Guide* for a list of twenty references on a topic, e. g., the proposed Anglo-American alliance, and then to read them in a hit-or-miss fashion is to come up with a hit-or-miss collection of unorganized information. A much wiser procedure is to find and examine references systematically; first, for example, reading treatments of the legal aspects of such an alliance, then material on economic factors, the English point of view, the American point of view, and so on. By selective reading, we mean that reading which is so judiciously done that all points of view are represented in the final body of information. A treatise on Stalinist communism written by a follower of Trotzky would obviously give a one-sided picture; the *Daily Worker*, on the other hand, would be equally unsatisfactory if used as a single source of information.

One good method of systematic reading is to follow the general outline suggested in Chapter VII for the preliminary analysis of a question. Another plan for systematic reading might be to follow an outline suggested by the so-called "stock issues" which may apply to almost any question. These "stock issues" are: (1) Is there a need for a change from the *status quo?* (2) What is the proposed solution? (3) Will the proposed solution meet the need? (4) Is it practical? (5) Is it desirable? (6) Will its advantages offset its disadvantages?

D. Read from the General to the Specific

This valuable reading sequence is all too often ignored, and the student immediately plunges into a mass of minor details without first establishing major concepts. If the problem involves an understanding of the National Labor Relations Board, for example, the wisest reading plan would call first for investigation of the broad underlying philosophy of this governmental agency. Only when this material has been assimilated should one begin studying the acts of the board in specific industrial disputes. In the same way, if a large amount of material is to be read, the most recent may

well be read last. In some fields, of course, material becomes "dated" quite rapidly and special care must be exercised in choosing it.

E. Read Source Material Whenever Possible

Research may take one of two avenues, that of the "low road" of secondary material or the "high road" of primary source. While traveling the "high road" may be more tedious and take longer, the results are more satisfactory and reliable. The difference may best be illustrated by assuming that we wish to investigate the attitude of the members of the Constitutional Convention toward a single-term presidency. We have just previously recommended that reading be done from the general to the specific, which may mean from secondary to primary sources. If we stop our investigation with secondary material, however, we are likely to get only a "second-hand" view of contemporary interpreters. If, on the other hand, we wish to get "first-hand" information, we will turn to Madison's *Debates of the Constitutional Convention*, the *Federalist Papers*, the Constitution itself, and memoirs and diaries, written by those who took part in the convention. When source material is available it is preferable; when it is not to be found, carefully chosen secondary material is obviously the best.

III. Recording Material

To select the most reliable material pertaining to the problem and to read that material intelligently and efficiently, is not enough; it must be recorded in some usable form. To that end we consider here a few techniques of recording the results of our research.

A. General Purposes of Recording Material

1. A systematic technique of recording material, or taking notes, is helpful in organizing the whole body of material and in viewing the relationship of one particular item to the whole. This is especially true if the notes be taken on cards with an indexed system of captions so that related items may be conveniently grouped.

2. Material which has been recorded can be used not only for the immediate purpose but may be kept for future reference, and

thus become a permanent addition to one's fund of knowledge.

3. A system of recording *all* material pertinent to the problem is more likely to present a picture of all its aspects. Thus an individual may be in a better position to make an intelligent choice among possible alternative solutions.

B. What to Record

1. Whenever you think that you will want the exact words of a speaker or a reference work you should record by *direct quotation;* that is, by taking from your source the exact words containing the idea or information you wish. For example:

Allport, Floyd H., *Social Psychology*, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1924, p. 289.

"The writer has collected the written opinions of students upon debatable questions before and after a free period of discussion. In the reports written afterward there were instances where facts presented by others, though taken up in a sense different from that intended, had been worked into new and very substantial arguments. Conversation and discussion thus proceed by a series of mutual partial misunderstandings which may produce good results in directing old habits of thought along new channels. This is what is meant when we say that one's genius strikes fire from the words of another. If one is not too impervious to social stimuli, something great and even *new* may be produced by putting two or more heads together. . . . This stimulation of new ways of conceiving old facts represents the profitable side of discussion." [1]

2. When the general idea seems most important, the material may be recorded in *indirect quotation;* that is, by putting into your own words the idea expressed by the author or speaker. For example:

Dashiell, J. F., "Experimental Studies of the Influence of Social Situations on the Behavior of Individual Human Adults," *Handbook of Social Psychology*, Carl Murchison, editor, Clark U. Press, Worcester, Mass., 1935, p. 1131.

Dashiell reports experimental studies in discussion and related fields and concludes that on a qualitative basis group discussion may be adequately characterized by the traditional analyses of individual thinking such as the one formulated by Dewey.

1. By permission of The Houghton Mifflin Company, publishers.

3. Sometimes you may read a book or an article and find nothing which is pertinent to the problem which you are currently investigating. You think that some day you may have occasion to refer to it, however, and so you write a *commentary* which will recall its general contents to your mind. For example:

Znaniecki, Florian, "Social Groups as Products of Participating Individuals," *The American Journal of Sociology*, May 1939, pp. 799–811.
Znaniecki gives four general laws of group formation and relations between individual participants in the group. Also discusses six variables in this relationship. This might be useful in studying the formation and make-up of a particular group. This whole issue of the *Journal* deals with the group and the individual.

4. On other occasions you may wish to have on file a more detailed summary or abstract of a book or an article you have read and so you may write a *précis*—a brief and precise statement which boils down the essence of the whole idea presented by the writer. In the case of a book you may even wish to record the chapter titles in order to have a more complete picture. For example:

Thouless, Robert H., *How to Think Straight*, Simon & Schuster, N.Y., 1939, 238 pp.
Political economy is largely a theoretical science and hence the common man's grasp of its principles are inadequate and he is apt to do most of his thinking about them along "crooked," emotional lines. The highest example of "straight," logical thinking is the method of the scientist. A truly educated democracy could, if it would, apply the scientific method in controlling its plagues of war, poverty, and crime. This would be revolutionary, and the revolution would have to start in our own minds with the substitution of "straight" for "crooked" thinking. The major part of the book provides a method for doing this.

Chapter titles:

I. Emotional Meanings
II. All and Some
III. Some Dishonest Tricks in Argument
IV. Some Logical Fallacies
V. Tricks of Suggestion
VI. Habits of Thought
VII. Tabloid Thinking
VIII. Pitfalls in Analogy
IX. On Drawing the Line

X. Vagueness and Related Evils
XI. Prejudice
XII. The Need for Straight Thinking

C. How to Record

1. In recording material, the emphasis should be given to statements of fact rather than to opinions and assertions. If the reference is to a reliable expert, of course, his opinion may be well worth recording.

2. Each item should be recorded separately, preferably on sheets of paper of the same size or upon index cards (see no. 9 below).

3. The material recorded should be classified under at least a few general headings for the sake of efficiency in using it. Collected material on discussion might be recorded under the headings: "definition of discussion," "purposes of discussion," "types of discussion," and so on. In some cases, headings and classifications cannot be made efficiently until after the material has been gathered.

4. The sources of all material should be carefully recorded to facilitate future references to them. These items are of value: (a) *title* of the book, speech, or article; (b) *name* of the author, editor, or speaker; (c) *biographical note* concerning the author, editor, or speaker, where this seems important; and (d) *source*, such as the name of a periodical or book, the place and date of publication, and the exact page from which the material is taken. For future reference, it is often wise to add the library call number of the volume cited. For example:

Dewey, John (professor emeritus of philosophy, Columbia University), *How We Think*, Heath (New York, 1933), p. 93. (Oberlin College library call number: 153/D515.3)

Frank, Glenn (1887–1940; *Century* editor; president, University of Wisconsin), "The Parliament of the People," *Century*, vol. 98 (July, 1919), pp. 401–416.

5. Always use quotation marks to indicate a direct quotation. Rules concerning plagiarism are far from fixed but you will guard yourself wisely by using quotation marks generously.

6. Be sure that a selected quotation represents not only the let-

ter but also the spirit of the author or speaker. Guard against taking a sentence out of its context when to do so violates the true sense of the author's meaning.

7. When you wish to insert your own words in a direct quotation set them off with brackets [like this] in order to avoid later confusion.

8. In general avoid long quotations. When, for the sake of brevity, you wish to omit portions of a long citation indicate the omissions by means of dots. Usually three dots [. . .] means that but part of a sentence has been deleted, while four dots [. . . .] means more than one sentence has been omitted.

9. Record material on standard-sized index cards. The most practical sizes are four by six inches, or six by eight inches. Many persons rule off spaces at the top of each card to accommodate information as to source. For example:

Subject	*Title*	*Author*	*Source*
Group Thinking	"Do Groups Think More Efficiently Than Individuals?"	Goodwin B. Watson	*J. Abnormal & Social Psych.*, vol. 23, Oct., 1928, p. 336 (328–336).

On the basis of his experiments Watson concludes:
"1. The product of group thinking is distinctly superior to that of the average and even that of the best member of the group. In this case it is further above the best than the best is above the average."

10. Regardless of what procedure you may devise for recording material be sure that it is systematic, that you always follow the same procedure.

By way of summary we can only repeat our earlier admonition that the process of true reflective thinking will never suffer because you know too much about your subject. Knowledge is a highly perishable commodity and an efficient method of recording and preserving it will help you to have it when you need it. The King in Lewis Carroll's *Jabberwocky* concluded his story by saying "the horror of that moment I shall never, *never* forget!" But "you will though," the Queen said, "if you don't make a memorandum of it!"

READINGS

Adler, M. J., *How to Read a Book* (New York, 1940), Part II.
Baird, A. C., *Public Discussion and Debate* (Boston, 1937), Chap. III.
Hockett, H. C., *Introduction to Research in American History* (New York, 1931), Chap. I.
Seward, S. S., Jr., *Note-Taking* (New York, 1910).
Thonssen, L., "A Selected List of Reference Works for Students of Public Speaking," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, April, 1941, pp. 215–222.

EXERCISES

*1. Draw up a plan for reading upon the problem you have selected for intensive study during the semester, specifying sequential aspects of the problem for study, and indicating possible general sources.

*2. Draw up a bibliography for the problem which you have selected for intensive study during the semester, and include a brief descriptive and critical comment on each reference. (For a sample form to be followed in organizing the bibliography see the suggested readings at the end of any chapter in this book.)

3. Look up information on and record on properly documented reference cards the following:

(a) A brief biography of the president of your college.
(b) The endowment of your college.
(c) The amount of the total public debt of the United States.
(d) The influence of Aristotle's *De Rhetorica* on modern rhetorical theories.
(e) The population, chief industries, and history of Muncie, Indiana.

4. Draw up a bibliography, with brief commentaries on each, of five source material and five secondary material references on one of the following:

(a) The Lincoln-Douglas debates.
(b) The history of the League of Nations.
(c) The social philosophy of the "New Deal."
(d) The founding of your college.
(e) The causes of the Civil War.

5. Collect five pieces of evidence concerning the naval strength of the United States, one from each of these classifications:

(a) A periodical, 1850–1875.
(b) A newspaper, 1875–1910.
(c) A periodical, 1910–1920.
(d) A newspaper, 1920–1930.

(e) A periodical, 1930–1940.

6. For a topic you are preparing to discuss in class prepare twenty reference cards, each one properly documented and classified.

7. Make a preferential list of specific sources to which you would go for information on each of the following topics:

(a) The circulation of the New York *Times*.
(b) The functions of the federal Bureau of Education.
(c) The age of the president of the United States.
(d) The name of the publisher of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.
(e) Books written by P. G. Wodehouse.
(f) The location of files of the Lebanon, Ohio, *Western-Star*.
(g) Public opinion on the Townsend Plan.
(h) The address of the American Civil Liberties Union.
(i) Recent periodical articles on psychological aspects of group work.
(j) United States exports to Brazil in 1938.
(k) The education of Thomas Jefferson.
(l) The population of Twin Lakes, Wisconsin.
(m) The date of the scuttling of the German battleship *Graf Spee*.
(n) The vote cast by Senator Robert Taft on the 1940 Selective Training and Service Act.

CHAPTER VII

Exploring the Problem: Preliminary Analysis

As we begin our exploration of the problem under discussion we will first make a preliminary analysis. This procedure we follow, consciously or subconsciously, in attempting to meet our everyday problems, and by it we established a broad view of those problems. Suppose that we are considering the purchase of an automobile; we undertake a preliminary analysis by asking ourselves such questions as these: Precisely why do I want a car? Can I get along without a car? How much can I afford to pay? What cars are on the market which will meet my needs and also be within my price range?

Or perhaps we are debating the desirability of voting for a new school tax levy. We may ask ourselves: Are present school finances inadequate? Are the standards of our schools too low? Should my community support better schools? Will this levy enable us to do it? What will be the net cost of the new levy to me? What benefits, direct or indirect, will I receive from better schools?

We begin our thinking about a problem by analyzing it; we ask ourselves a series of direct questions which serve to break the problem into its component parts. In discussion and debate, the preliminary analysis is of special importance. With such a "preview" of the whole scope of the problem, the task of detailed exploration will be made easier. As Brigance has said, "One of the great virtues of discussion and debate is that here we are forced to put behind us all reliance upon hope, charity, prejudice,

and faith. We are compelled to analyze in the pure light of reason and of reason alone. Indeed we have no option in the matter, for in solving any problem, analysis is the seat of life. If it be in error, or if it be inadequate, no amount of reasoning that follows, or of eloquence of speech, can save the hour. The case is lost, for it starts at the wrong place and goes in the wrong direction." [1]

To make a preliminary analysis of any problem for discussion or debate—an analysis which does not predetermine the resulting solution but only makes the finding of it simpler—the following series of six general exploratory questions will be helpful: (1) What are the meanings of the terms in the statement of the problem? (2) What is the origin and history of the problem? (3) What is the immediate cause for discussion? (4) What seem to be the main issues of controversy? (5) What are the minimum essentials of any acceptable solution? (6) What are the directions in which the solution may lie?

I. What Are the Meanings of the Terms?

The first step in preliminary analysis is to be sure that we know *exactly* what the problem is; not only what the *whole* statement means but the meaning of *each of the terms* within that statement. Traditionally this step in analysis is known as "defining the terms." At first glance this task may appear to be simple but in practice it is often difficult. It is true, of course, that the exact meaning of the statement of a problem will be clearer if some care has been taken in its original framing. But suppose that we have this problem stated in question form: "Should the power of the federal government be increased?" Three terms in this statement demand our attention if we are to understand the problem clearly. These terms which require careful definition are "power," "the federal government," and "should be increased." There may be many interpretations of each of them, and only a careful study will reveal the most accurate and acceptable.[2]

As an example of analysis to discover the meanings of the terms in the statement of a problem we may examine the following definitions and interpretations prepared by the committee on the

1. William Norwood Brigance, unpublished manuscript.

2. See Chapter V for a discussion of "Methods of Definition," and "Requisites of a Good Definition."

"National" intercollegiate debate question for 1940–1941. This question was phrased "Resolved: That the nations of the Western Hemisphere should enter into a permanent union."

(1) For the purpose of this debate a "union" is defined as possessing the following legal powers: (a) to make peace and war, to negotiate treaties and otherwise deal with the outside world, to raise and maintain a defense force; (b) to regulate commerce among member countries and foreign trade with other peoples.
(2) If it wishes, the affirmative may assume an increased burden of proof by proposing other powers to be possessed by the "union" in addition to those named above.
(3) "Permanent" means that the "union" is to continue indefinitely, and is proposed not merely for the duration of the present war.
(4) The argument is not to be as to whether the nations of the Western Hemisphere *would* or *legally could* enter into a permanent union, but rather as to whether they *should* do so.
(5) The twenty-one American Republics represented in the conference at Havana, July 21–30, 1940, and Canada are to be regarded as "the nations of the Western Hemisphere."
(6) Canada's present status of belligerency shall not obligate by reason of that fact the other members of the "union" to enter the present war.

The next step in analysis is to discover the current status of the problem. Here we are really asking ourselves, "Why *is* this a problem for discussion or debate?" That is, why has this particular matter ceased to be abstract and of purely academic interest and become a problem for public consideration? To answer this question is the purpose of the next two steps in preliminary analysis.

II. What Is the Origin and History of the Problem?

Suppose that the question under consideration is, "What shall we do to solve the problem of the railroads?" To obtain an adequate understanding of the origin and history of this question it may be necessary to go back into the records of the period of early railroad construction in the United States to investigate the corporate basis upon which the roads were then organized, and the amount and kind of governmental assistance they received. If the question of government ownership of the railroads has been raised at various times during their history it will be important to know why such a change in ownership was proposed. What policies or ac-

tions on the part of the roads were responsible for the nineteenth century denunciations of "the railroad octopus"? At what point were railroads considered to be "affected with the public interest," and therefore susceptible to public regulation? How were the corporate structures of the railroads changed during their development? To get an adequate picture of the origin and history of the railroad problem, these questions must be carefully explored.

III. What Is the Immediate Cause for Discussion?

While the investigation of the origin and history of the problem may be of considerable importance, still it may not reveal the immediate cause for its present consideration. The underlying cause may be discovered in the history of a question, but the immediate or precipitating cause (which is apt to assume undue proportions in the mind of the superficial observer) must also be found. For example, in the recent consideration of demands that the government own and operate the railroads, the immediate or precipitating cause was undoubtedly the actual or impending bankruptcy of certain major lines. Had it not been for that factor, such items as duplication of railroad services, outworn equipment, and freight rate differentials would probably not have brought about any serious consideration of the railroad situation.

We noted above that the precipitating cause for consideration of a problem often assumes undue proportions in the mind of a casual observer. This possibility may be cited as a reason for carefully integrating the precipitating cause with the underlying causes apparent in the study of the origin and history of the problem. If we find only the immediate cause and neglect the history of the problem we run the danger of indulging in emotionalized thinking derived from our prejudicial associations with the immediate situation. To safeguard ourselves against this danger, a thorough knowledge of the origin and history of the problem as well as the immediate cause for its present consideration is necessary.

IV. What Seem to Be the Main Issues?

At this point we are sure that we know exactly what the statement of the problem means, we have investigated its origin and

history, and we have determined just why we are currently discussing it. In taking these steps, if our work be done well, we have probably also discovered (a) a great many relevant facts concerning the problem, and (b) a great many facts related to it but which, for the purposes of our discussion, are irrelevant and unimportant. In our thinking at this stage of our preliminary analysis, then, we should be forming a picture of the main issues of controversy. These issues are those vital points upon which participants in a discussion or a debate disagree. After exploring the evidence and argument bearing upon the problem, our conception of these main issues of controversy may be changed, and it is perfectly proper that it should, since, at this time, our knowledge about the problem is incomplete.

To determine these controversial issues, it is helpful to bear in mind two considerations: (1) we are not looking for merely "important points" but for *vital* ones—issues upon which the ultimate choice of a solution will depend; (2) we are looking for points upon which there is disagreement—issues which are *controversial.* A main issue of controversy in a problem has often been compared to a swinging door; it moves in both directions; over its threshold pass all points of view, in contrary directions; and, in its so moving, a collision is inevitable.

As the problem under discussion changes, so will the main issues vary. In the discussion of most problems, however, the so-called "stock issues" will furnish a beginning for the discovery of the main issues of controversy:

A. Is There a Need for a Change?

If a change is not deemed necessary or desirable there is no point in further discussion. However, a good deal of discussion may be required to reach agreement that no need for a change exists.

B. What Are the Proposed Solutions?

Many times *some* definite solutions will be apparent even in the stage of preliminary analysis, though rarely are *all* of the possible solutions discernible. At other times no solutions will be apparent at this point; they can be developed only through the remaining steps in exploring the problem. Only when some definite

solutions are apparent at this stage will the following "stock issues" be helpful in locating the main issues:

C. Will Any of the Proposed Solutions Meet the Need?

D. Are the Proposed Solutions Practicable?

E. Are the Proposed Solutions Desirable?

F. Will Their Advantages Offset Possible Disadvantages?

Bearing in mind the fact that what appear to be main issues of controversy may prove to be otherwise in the light of further exploration, we are ready to continue the steps in the analysis.

V. What Are the Essentials of Any Solution?

The step in analysis now proposed is that of formulating a general picture of the requisites of any acceptable solution to the problem under discussion. In an ordinary problem, there is usually a minimum number of essential factors or values that must be included or accounted for in the ultimate solution. If these minimum essentials are taken account of in the preliminary analysis, they will furnish useful standards by which to evaluate and judge specific solutions which are later proposed.

When the editors of *Fortune* Magazine were drawing up a memorandum agenda for their "Fortune Round Table" on the problem of the railroads, for example, they set forth these two essential factors to be accounted for in the ultimate solution:

> For purposes of our discussion, two facts may be assumed:
> 1. The fundamental importance of transportation to national economy and defense.
> 2. The depressed condition of the railroads and other branches of transport.
>
> The purpose of the Round Table will be to endeavor to reach agreement as to the causes of and remedies for this depressed condition.[3]

While other essential factors may have suggested themselves during the twelve-hour discussion by the seventeen members of the group, the two basic factors just noted provided the locus for

3. *Memorandum Agenda on Transportation*, Fortune Round Table Number 3. Quotation from this unpublished document by permission of *Fortune*.

the discussion, and were vital to the whole investigation. How well the members of the "Fortune Round Table" considered these minimum essentials in their discussion may be seen in reading their summarized conclusions:

> The main *area of agreement*, with qualifications noted in the text, is as follows:
>
> 1. *Competition.* All competing forms of transport should be equally regulated, provided the natural advantages of each are not destroyed. It should be established by impartial inquiry whether motor vehicles are now paying a fair share of highway costs. No new highways or inland waterways should be built unless their economic justification is established or unless the subsidy nature of the project is clearly understood. In any region where transportation is to be subsidized, the cheapest and most efficient form of transportation should be provided.
>
> 2. *Rates.* Low rates should be the constant aim of transportation policy. But the half-price, land-grant rates enjoyed by the government should be repealed, and any unjust regional rate discriminations should be removed by the I.C.C.
>
> 3. *Consolidation.* The railroads should be consolidated and coordinated, in order to save expenses. The present restrictions on consolidation in the 1920 Transportation Act should be repealed. Labor displaced by consolidation should be given a graduated dismissal allowance. A temporary transportation committee should be formed to promote consolidation and lay grounds for a national transportation policy.
>
> And here is the main *area of disagreement:*
>
> 1. *Rates and Services.* There is disagreement as to whether the railroads should have greater rate-making freedom, as to whether they should lower or limber up their rate structure in general, and as to whether they could show greater initiative in meeting shippers' needs.
>
> 2. There is disagreement as to whether new government loans should be made to the railroads.
>
> 3. There is disagreement as to whether wage scales and systems of pay should be changed.[4]

In another case an economist investigating the milk industry formulated this portion of his preliminary analysis as follows:

4. "The Third Fortune Round Table: The Railroads," *Fortune*, August, 1939, p. 51. For the amplified text of the group's conclusions see pp. 50–51, 80 ff. The seventeen participants in the discussion included two railroad presidents, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, two leaders of railroad labor, a former Governor of Alabama, representatives of water transport, truckers', shippers', and investors' points of view, and other experts.

The minimum essentials for the solution of the problem of the milk industry are: (1) a substantial increase in the consumption of fluid milk (which cannot be achieved without adequate price protection for the consumer) and (2) the maintenance of farm income from milk at its present level or the raising of that level. No solution which accomplishes one of these at the expense of the other could possibly be satisfactory.[5]

These minimum essentials of any acceptable solution may be discovered by examining suggested solutions, but a better starting point is a preliminary analysis of the origin and history of the problem and of the immediate cause for its discussion. Upon careful exploration of the problem and examination of suggested solutions, it may be apparent that certain of the previously determined minimum essentials are unsound, impossible, or unimportant; but as standards of evaluation and judgment formulated during the period of preliminary analysis, they may make easier and more efficient the examining of suggested solutions.

VI. In What Directions May the Solutions Lie?

In this final step in preliminary analysis, the purpose ought to be simply that of general orientation. That is, examination of some of the possible solutions—or at least the direction in which these solutions may lie—ought not to predetermine the final choice. The end result of complete investigation is a decision as to the best solution. But, at certain stages of that investigation, there may be rather clear indications of possible solutions; in order to examine all data relevant to the problem these indications should be recognized and explored. This is especially true when indication of the directions in which the solution may lie may come from two phases of the preliminary analysis.

(1) The first indication of possible direction in which the solution for a problem may lie is likely to be found in a study of its origin and history. It is quite unlikely that any problem which has received even a minimum of public consideration has not been "solved" by a great many persons, and from their suggested remedies we may begin to form a picture of the possible solutions.

Suppose, for example, that we are considering the relationship

5. Warren W. Shearer, unpublished manuscript.

of the Supreme Court to acts passed by Congress. At various times since 1789 it has been suggested that the Court be deprived of the power to review acts of Congress; that Congress be empowered to override decisions of the Supreme Court by a two-thirds vote; that five-to-four decisions of the Court be barred; that the membership of the Court be enlarged; that a compulsory retirement age for Court members be set, and so on. To discover each of these suggested solutions, knowledge of the historical situation in which it was made and the support which it received is of value in tentatively ascertaining the directions in which a final solution may lie.

(2) By examining the immediate cause for discussion of the problem, we may both add to our picture of minimum essentials of a final acceptable solution, and gain some further notion of the source of an acceptable solution. There are those who argue that, at the preliminary analysis stage, the investigator should be so detached in his investigation that he cannot be "contaminated" by any solutions which have been suggested. It may be that such an attitude of detachment would be desirable, but from our study of the way in which individuals think it must be obvious that such abstract consideration is nearly impossible for the average person.

In this phase of our analysis, we will discover that, when certain matters become problems in the true sense of the word, at least two quite distinct solutions are apparent. Let us suppose that the machinist's union goes on strike in the Acme plant. The strikers immediately announce their grievances together with their demands for a settlement. This announcement represents Proposed Solution No. 1 for the problem created by the strike. Then, if the Acme company is unwilling to alter its policies, a continuation of the *status quo* becomes Proposed Solution No. 2. Or, if the company is willing to grant some of the strikers' demands, while rejecting others, this suggested compromise represents Possible Solution No. 3.

Thus, an examination of the immediate cause for considering the problem may yield indications of several possible solutions. From these contrasting proposals it may be fruitful to build a list of minimum essentials of any acceptable course of action, and

these essentials will indicate the general direction in which the ultimate solution may lie.

In summary, the preliminary analysis is a procedure for breaking down a problem into separate parts so that each may be carefully examined. The procedure may be efficiently carried out by using these six exploratory questions: (1) What are the meanings of the terms in the statement of the problem? (2) What is the origin and history of the problem? (3) What is the immediate cause for discussion? (4) What seem to be the main points of controversy in the problem? (5) What are the minimum essentials of any acceptable solution? (6) What are the directions in which the solution may lie? In following out this procedure for analysis it must be remembered that it is but a preliminary, exploratory step. There are other steps to be taken in making a *complete* analysis and these will be discussed in the following chapters.

READINGS

Clarke, E. L., *The Art of Straight Thinking* (New York, 1929), Chap. VII.

Columbia Associates in Philosophy, *An Introduction to Reflective Thinking* (Boston, 1923), Chap. IX.

McBurney, J. H., and Hance, K. G., *The Principles and Methods of Discussion* (New York, 1939), Chap. X.

Wallas, G., *The Art of Thought* (New York, 1926), Chaps. IV, V, VI, and VII.

EXERCISES

*1. Prepare a three-minute speech on the origin and history of the problem you have chosen for intensive study during the semester.

*2. Analyze the problem you have chosen for intensive study during the semester to determine the directions in which the solution might lie.

3. Examine the questions currently being used in intercollegiate debate by your college and write out an analysis of the terms used in each.

4. Find a newspaper editorial, a magazine article, or a speech dealing with a current public problem and determine the immediate cause for its discussion.

5. Select a current campus problem and prepare a three-minute speech setting forth the main points of controversy.

6. Select a current campus problem and prepare a three-minute speech setting forth the minimum essentials of any acceptable solution.

7. Attend a discussion meeting or read the transcript of a discussion from the list in the Appendix. Make a study to discover the place of a preliminary analysis in the discussion. What steps in analysis were included? What steps were omitted? Was the preliminary analysis adequate?

8. Listen to an intercollegiate debate and write a critical statement upon the adequacy of the steps of preliminary analysis presented.

9. Are the terms in the following statements capable of satisfactory definition?

(a) Resolved, that the nations of the Western Hemisphere should enter into a permanent union.
(b) Should the United States cease to oppose Japanese aggression?
(c) Should the government suppress the Communists?
(d) Resolved, that the Townsend Plan is worthy of highest praise.
(e) What are the bases of a durable peace?
(f) Whose ramparts shall we watch?
(g) Resolved, that this house pities its grandchildren.
(h) Should Congress or the people have the right to declare war?
(i) Shall we support the liberal candidate in this election?
(j) What is the state of radical thought in America today?
(k) How shall we solve the problem of unemployment?
(l) Resolved, that the policy of governmental relief to the unemployed be condemned.
(m) What is a liberal education?

CHAPTER VIII

Exploring the Problem: Evidence

So far, in exploring the nature of a problem we have been considering its general background, finding "what it's all about." Now we are prepared to continue our investigation in a more specific manner by finding what reasoning may be brought to bear on the problem. Reasoning is often referred to as the process of inference; that is, the inferring of a conclusion from certain accepted truths. To put this another way, we may say that the word *evidence* describes the accepted truths, while the word *argument* describes the process of inferring conclusions from them. Argument may also be described as a specialized form of reasoning which has for its object the persuading of others to accept the conclusions inferred from the evidence. Thus evidence becomes the material of reasoning and argument becomes the method of reasoning.

Our discussion of reasoning, as it is related to exploring a problem, will be based upon this fundamental distinction between materials and methods. In this chapter we shall consider the materials of reasoning, or evidence; in the following chapter, the methods of reasoning, or argument.

All evidence is based upon matters of fact. Evidence comes chiefly from two sources, observations of facts and opinions about facts. So in terms of their sources we will discuss two types of evidence: (1) *evidence of fact,* and (2) *evidence of opinion.* We need, first of all, to distinguish between these two types of evidence for they are often confused. This confusion arises because, in one circumstance, a given piece of evidence may be evidence of fact;

while, in another circumstance, it may be evidence of opinion. Let us consider an example. Foreign correspondent Leland Stowe is present at the battle of Narvik when the British forces are attempting to dislodge the German army of occupation from that Norwegian stronghold. As he witnesses the progress of the battle, paper and pencil in hand, he records what he sees. Later he writes a newspaper dispatch describing what he has observed—an "eyewitness account." In writing this story he is using *evidence of fact,* describing things which have taken place under his personal observation. Some time later Leland Stowe may be speaking to a forum audience in Chicago: ". . . on the basis of the facts as I know them, judging only on what I saw happen, it is my opinion that the British lost the battle of Narvik because they failed to . . ." Here he is using *evidence of opinion,* submitting his judgment as evidence. Thus the events of the battle of Narvik provide the basis for both evidence of fact and evidence of opinion.

It will be noted that in each case the evidence was first-hand, Leland Stowe's personal observation and his personal opinion. This is obviously not true of all evidence. We often accept as evidence facts which have been observed and reported by someone else; and we often accept as evidence opinions voiced by others. Thus a member of a group discussing problems of national defense may supplement his own observations by citing facts observed by dozens of other witnesses and investigators; a college student debating the desirability of federal housing projects may support his own judgments by quoting opinions of other laymen, or of experts on housing. In our discussion of (1) *evidence of fact,* then, we shall recognize (a) facts of direct personal observation, and (b) facts observed and reported by others. In discussing (2) *evidence of opinion,* we shall consider (a) personal opinions, (b) other lay opinions, and (c) expert opinions.

In our exploration of problems we will make frequent use of each of these types of evidence. We will use our own observations and opinions and also the observations and opinions of many witnesses and experts whom we do not know personally. It will be necessary, therefore, that we not only be able to recognize each type of evidence, but that we also be able to make an objective test of each type to the end that we may base our reasoning only upon evidence which is valid.

I. Evidence of Fact

A. Definition

We are accustomed to hear discussions opened with the statement, "Here are the facts of the situation. . . ." If these are honestly conceived and presented they are limited to statements which accurately report, describe, or classify, on the basis of careful personal observation or authentic testimony, that which has happened or is happening—events, circumstances, or phenomena whose existence is not a matter of opinion. Thus are observed facts distinguished from assertions which may have no basis of reality.

The story is often told of a lawyer who visited his client in a jail cell and asked what crime he had committed. "The only thing I've done," replied the client, "is to walk on the grass in the city park." "But they can't put you in jail for that!" cried the lawyer. "Maybe not, but here I am!" was his client's rejoinder, and thus he pointed out an unassailable fact as opposed to the assertion of his lawyer.

A true observed fact, then, is an objective description, relatively independent of judgment or interpretation. To say that retail food prices are too high is to voice a conclusion or an opinion. But for a housewife to say, on the other hand, that in the last four months local meat prices have risen 17%, canned goods 11%, and fresh vegetables 15%, is to state a fact which she has observed by examining her bills and which may be verified by anyone interested in examining the same evidence.

On the other hand, to assert that Japan's policy in the Far East should be condemned is a subjective conclusion or judgment. However, this conclusion should be based upon authentic testimony concerning certain facts which have been ascertained objectively. The following, for example, are such facts relating to Japan's Far Eastern policy:

In 1894 Japan invaded Manchuria, Korea, and the Liaotung Peninsula, and seized Formosa and the Pescadores Islands.

In 1900 Japan seized Shanhaikwan.

In 1905 Japan seized Chefoo.

In 1915 Japan levied her "Twenty-One Demands" against China.

In 1931–2 Japan invaded Manchuria and established the Japanese-dominated state of Manchukuo.

In 1933 Japan seized the province of Jehol.
Since 1937 Japan has been waging an undeclared war against China.

With these definitions of facts, those personally observed as well as those observed and reported by others, we are now ready to inquire more closely into the problem of establishing the validity of the two kinds of evidence of fact.

B. Facts of Personal Observation

It is axiomatic that if one is to think straight he must be able to see straight. And while our senses are sometimes deceived, if they are exercised properly our observations will have the substance of truth. We will avoid the twin pitfalls of "nonobservation" (failure to perceive) and "malobservation" (failure to perceive correctly). While much that will be said later concerning observations reported by others applies equally in guiding our own observations, three special considerations are appropriate here.

1. *To observe accurately we must have a definiteness of purpose*. It will be recalled from our discussion of the scientific method in Chapter II that the first element of that method is the existence of a recognized problem, properly located, defined, and limited. When we set out to observe we must know what the problem is which we are investigating so that our attention area may be narrowed and so that we may recognize the facts pertaining to that problem when we come upon them.

2. *To observe accurately we must have an honest attitude toward the problem.* While we are searching for facts relevant to the object of our observation we need to maintain an honest attitude of mind, free from prejudice, open to facts favorable as well as those unfavorable, and without preconceived notions of what we ought to find. Only with such an attitude can we overcome the factors which may otherwise distort our perceptions.

3. *To observe accurately we must record rather than remember.* Memory is, at best, an unreliable human faculty, for we tend to remember the more colorful events rather than the more commonplace, and those which fitted in with preconceived notions rather than those which disturbed our convictions. A written record, made at the time of our observation, is more reliable than our recollection.

C. Facts Observed by Others

It is impossible for any of us to have observed the battle of Waterloo. Hence we must rely upon the evidence reported by observers of that conflict. Few of us have actually seen an atom or a molecule, interviewed Chiang-Kai-Shek, or investigated the living conditions among sharecroppers in the South, and so again we rely upon the testimony of those who have done these things. Thus the reported observations of others are frequently used in discussion and debate as evidence of fact. But to say blithely that "this is a fact because Mr. Olson, an eminent man in his field, says it is" is to accept testimonial evidence without any regard for its possible limitations. What are those limitations?

In the first place, we need to recognize that any testimony as to facts involves three elements: *observation*, *memory*, and *narration*. Even a cursory acquaintance with human nature indicates that few persons have the power of accurate observation. Twenty individuals reporting what they thought they saw in a traffic accident, or a touchdown play on the gridiron, are likely to disagree not only in minor matters but also in major items.[1] Similarly, in the matter of memory the average individual is relatively unreliable in his recollection of what took place one, two, or five years ago. In the element of narration we are likely to find even greater inaccuracies. "I know just what happened but I can't describe it" is a common phrase, for our powers of narration are often inadequate to describe the results of our observation. Such limitations as these exist quite apart from deliberate dishonesty and incompetence. Taken together, they should demonstrate the need for critical evaluation of all testimonial evidence.

Traditionally such an evaluation of "fact" witnesses has been patterned after the standards set in courts of law.[2] In general, the legal standard includes these considerations:

1. For example: "An analysis of the testimony of 20,000 persons who were asked to describe the physical characteristics of the man they saw commit a crime revealed that, on the average, they overestimated the height by five inches, the age by eight years and gave the wrong hair color in 83 per cent of the cases."—By Freling Foster, *Collier's*, Aug. 17, 1940, p. 6. For a series of interesting studies on this point see Hugo Munsterberg, *On the Witness Stand* (London, 1908).

2. See G. P. Baker, *The Principles of Argumentation* (Boston, 1895), pp. 230–237; J. M. O'Neill, C. Laycock, and R. L. Scales, *Argumentation and Debate* (New York, 1917), pp. 107–112.

1. *A reliable witness must be in a position to observe clearly the fact in question.* Because careful and accurate observation may depend upon being near enough to the scene to view it clearly, being in time to see an event take place, or having enough light in which to see it, a witness must be able to establish the existence of such prerequisites.

2. *A reliable witness must be able physically to observe accurately.* As observation depends primarily upon the senses, a reliable observer must have the sensory qualifications for observing the fact in question. That is, he must be able to see, hear, smell, taste, or touch accurately.

3. *A reliable witness must be able intellectually to understand and report what he sees.* In order to understand what he observes a witness must be able to discriminate, to sort out and fit together the separate aspects of the fact in question. He must also be able to report what he has seen in clear, unambiguous language.

4. *A reliable witness must be morally able to report what he sees without prejudice.* While it is often impossible to secure otherwise competent witnesses who have no personal interest in the facts under discussion, it is necessary to ascertain whether the known moral character of a witness is such that he may be trusted not to falsify deliberately.

D. Testing Facts

So far in our discussion of evidence of fact we have suggested certain procedures for testing the reliability of our personal observations and the observations and reports of others. However, certain tests for the validity of the asserted facts themselves must also be kept in mind. These are indicated by the following questions.

1. *Is there a high degree of probability that the fact is as asserted?* This is not the ultimate test as to the correctness of any alleged fact but simply a question of its likelihood or probability. If we were to visit an isolated African tribe of Negroes and discover an apparently white child living with them we would say that it was highly improbable that the child was Caucasian. It would be more startling, but more reasonable, to assume that he was an albino. Similarly, if a police captain in a large city asked us to accept as a fact the statement that his bank balance of $300,-

000 represented his savings from a $3,500 yearly salary we would regard it as quite improbable. That there is not a high degree of probability that an alleged fact is true does not necessarily invalidate it, but it should make us more cautious in applying the remaining tests.

2. *Is the asserted fact clearly accessible to observation?* An alleged fact may be proved invalid if it can be established that it was not clearly accessible to observation, or that the observer was not in a position to observe it clearly. In a legal trial during his early days of practice, Abraham Lincoln is said to have examined a witness who testified that, because a bright moon was shining, he had identified a certain individual in the act of running away from the scene of a murder. When Lincoln produced an almanac which demonstrated that there was no moon on the night in question the asserted observation of fact was quickly disproved. Frequently we hear a statement of purported fact such as "The strike at the Beta plant was directed by Communists." Yet, when queried, our informant is forced to admit that "it has been rumored . . ." Illustrations of this type may be multiplied by observing how quickly rumors are accepted and passed on as "facts."

3. *Is the fact as asserted consistent with other observations of it?* When an alleged fact has been observed by a number of witnesses, it is fruitful to see whether the given statement of observed fact is corroborated by them. If there is little agreement among several observers, the alleged fact cannot be accepted without rigorous testing on other counts. The current expression of "check and double check" may well be put into practice in making this test.

4. *Is the asserted fact consistent within itself?* In applying this test we are interested in determining whether the component parts of an observation of fact fit together to form a reasonable picture. If a debater argues that South American distrust of the United States would make a permanent hemisphere union impossible, there will be but little probability supporting his further statement that voluntary co-operation can be secured under present conditions. Asserted facts must not be self-contradictory. This test, often referred to as one of "internal consistency," is simply a turning of an alleged fact upon itself to determine whether its parts are compatible with each other.

5. *Is the asserted fact consistent with other known facts?* This test has been called one of "external consistency," applied to determine whether an alleged observed fact fits in with other definitely established facts of observation. If it is a known fact that most rivers in the United States run from north to south we might question the statement that the Red River in North Dakota runs from south to north. In this particular case the alleged fact would be correct, despite its apparent inconsistency with other known facts. In other cases, however, an alleged fact may reasonably be questioned if it is not compatible with known facts. To assert that George Bernard Shaw regularly eats veal stew is inconsistent with the considerable body of observed facts regarding his principles of vegetarianism.

6. *Is the reporting of the asserted fact complete?* To be complete the report must be honestly compiled, including every relevant aspect of the asserted fact and of the circumstances in which it was observed. When Dr. J. B. Rhine published his observations of experimental facts concerning "extrasensory perception" some people applied this test to his evidence, alleging that he might have reported only unusually high scores, neglecting to mention those which were unusually low. This charge was quickly refuted by reviewing the original data and showing that it was all accounted for in the final observations. In another case, however, a team of college debaters returned triumphantly from a tournament asserting that they had won three debates. This statement of fact was perfectly true—but the students neglected to mention three debates which they had lost!

7. *Can the asserted fact be investigated by other observers?* This test is in the best scientific tradition and is the most important one that can be applied to an alleged observation of fact. If the basis for an asserted fact may be ascertained by other investigators that fact has a greater presumption of validity than if "this is a fact but I can't tell you how I know it." In a laboratory experiment, for example, it may be a demonstrable fact that when chemical *X* is added to chemical *Y* the result will be *Z*. If this observed fact is asserted in a discussion there is a greater presumption of its validity simply because it may be investigated by anyone who has the knowledge and the equipment to repeat the experiment.

The purpose of proposing these test questions, and others which

will follow, is not to encourage the reader to be overly suspicious of every bit of evidence he encounters. Rather, the purpose is to encourage him to adopt that healthy skepticism which never accepts any asserted fact with uncritical naïveté, but which insists upon at least a minimum of reasonableness in any allegedly valid evidence.

II. Evidence of Opinion

A. Definition

One of the more commonly used types of evidence in everyday discussion and debate is evidence of opinion. A forum lecturer replies to a question: "If you want my frank opinion it is that . . ." Or a college debater says: "It is the opinion of Hansen Baldwin, New York *Times* military expert, that . . ." If these opinions are honestly arrived at and fairly presented they are statements which reflect judgments or beliefs based upon evidence insufficient to produce certainty. Hence they are opinions about facts and not facts *per se*.

Evidence of fact, we know, may be derived from our direct personal observations or from the reported observations of others. Similarly, evidence of opinion may come from more than one source. We may state our own personal opinions, cite the opinions of other laymen, or quote the opinions of experts. In the latter case, evidence of opinion is derived from the expressed judgments or beliefs of someone who is in a position to have knowledge of the facts, an authority in his particular field. Hence we sometimes refer to expert opinion as "argument from authority"; throughout the rest of this chapter we shall use the term *authority* as synonymous with the term *expert*.

Let us consider an example of each of these three sources of opinion.

1. We may plan to take part in a public debate upon the desirability of adopting the city-manager form of government in our town. As part of our preparation we may visit the city treasurer and examine his books. On the basis of our observations of the facts concerning the income and expenditures of the city, we may come to the conclusion that the city finances are intelligently and honestly managed under the present form of government. This

belief we may then express as evidence of opinion in the public debate: "On the basis of my examination of the treasurer's records it is my honest opinion that . . ."

2. In a panel discussion on the question "Should the CCC program be made permanent?" one member may inquire as to the conditions under which CCC workers are living. Never having visited a camp, you are not qualified to give a personal opinion, but you can cite the lay opinion of a friend whose judgment you respect: "Of course, I've never seen one of these camps myself, but a friend of mine recently visited one at Clifty Falls State Park, in Indiana, and he has written me that he believes . . ."

3. On another occasion, we may take part in a group discussion of the development of America's foreign relations under the "Good Neighbor" policy. When the question of the policy's effect upon relations with Argentina is mentioned, we are unable to contribute any personal observations of facts. We have, however, heard a recent speech by Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union. Feeling that he has an expert knowledge of the facts, we may quote his statements as evidence of opinion: "Dr. L. S. Rowe, Director General of the Pan-American Union, is in a position to speak with authority on this matter. In a speech which he broadcast from Washington, D. C., on March 16th of this year, he said that relations with Argentina under the 'Good Neighbor' policy have . . ."

With this classification of evidence of opinion: (1) that which we hold personally, (2) that of other laymen, and (3) that which is expressed by experts, we are ready to evaluate these three kinds of evidence.

B. Personal Opinions

Plutarch, in writing *Against Colotes*, long ago observed that "to err in opinion, though it be not the part of wise men, is at least human." One of the major problems confronting a participant in discussion or debate is to formulate his own opinions with wisdom and to express them with precision. Much advice has been written on this subject in books bearing such titles as *How to Think Straight*, *Thinking to Some Purpose*, and *The Art of Straight Thinking*. Indeed, much that you have already read in this book is concerned with the problem of improving the procedures

by which we arrive at personal beliefs and opinions. The three special considerations which are set forth below, therefore, are but summaries of some things that have already been said elsewhere in this book.

1. *A sound personal opinion is based upon a clear understanding of the problem.* Without making a comprehensive analysis of any problem upon which we express an opinion, we run the risk of "talking off the top of our heads." The first requisite for a sound personal opinion, therefore, is a distinct and orderly picture of the whole problem.

2. *A sound personal opinion is based upon a systematic investigation of available evidence relating to the problem.* In Sir James Barrie's *Auld Licht Idylls*, Bowie Haggart says, "I am of the opeenion that the works of Burns is of an immoral tendency. I have not read them myself, but such is my opeenion." Such predetermined notions seldom lead to sound personal opinions; neither can mental stereotypes or traditions often be relied upon. The only adequate basis for sound judgment is indicated in the familiar injunction of Isaac Watts: "Let the degrees of your assent to every proposition bear an exact proportion to the different degrees of evidence."

3. *A sound personal opinion is based upon careful validation by experimentation wherever that is possible.* It is not possible to subject all personal judgments to a pragmatic test. Whenever possible, however, experimental validation is the third major prerequisite for asserting an opinion.

C. Lay Opinions

A layman is one who is not an expert on the problem being investigated; he lacks the professional training, the experience, or the reputation necessary to speak with authority. However, he may be in an advantageous position to observe certain facts not accessible to us; on the basis of these observations, he may express an opinion. In situations when we ourselves are not qualified to express a judgment, and when expert opinion is not available, such lay opinions may provide our only evidence. In such cases they will carry some weight until better evidence can be found.

One of the more common ways in which lay opinion is used as evidence today is by means of surveys or polls. The Gallup polls,

the *Fortune* polls, and those conducted by many advertising agencies are simply ways of collecting many individual lay opinions so that they may be presented, *en masse*, as "typical," "cross-sections" of public opinion.

Special considerations in the evaluating of individual lay opinions parallel those suggested for checking the reliability of one's own personal opinions. A sound lay opinion is based upon: (1) a clear understanding of the problem, (2) a systematic investigation of available evidence relating to the problem, and (3) a careful validation by experimentation whenever that is possible.

D. Expert Opinions

The role of the expert in our society has not always been a happy one; Nicholas Murray Butler was perhaps the first to refer to him as "one who knows more and more about less and less." It sometimes has been the fashion to look with disdain upon the participant in everyday discussion or debate who cites expert opinion. Leonardo da Vinci, in his *Notebooks*, observed that "Whoever in discussion adduces authority uses not intellect but memory." And often today the college debater asserts that "Quotations don't prove anything!" The charges are really leveled against excessive reliance upon authoritative opinion.

Quotation from authority *does* prove something; at the very least it proves that the person quoted has an opinion. And if the citation of expert opinion is skillfully interwoven with substantial evidence of fact, the result may well be a fabric of proof. When the use of expert opinion is the best, or the only available, evidence to support a proposition, the participant in discussion or debate should not hesitate to use it. He should also be aware, however, that the use of authority does not of itself provide an argument or a method of reasoning. Expert opinion is evidence and, like all other evidence, it furnishes only the material of reasoning.

Certain special considerations govern the reliability of expert opinion; these will be dealt with in some detail under "Testing Opinions." Generally, however, the criteria for acceptable expert opinion parallel those we have previously applied to witnesses of fact. The expert witness should be (1) in a position to know the facts, (2) physically, (3) intellectually, and (4) morally qualified to testify.

E. Testing Opinions

In our discussion of evidence of opinion, thus far, we have suggested certain standards of reliability which ought to govern our own opinions, those of other laymen, and of experts. A more particularized set of tests should be applied, however, to determine the validity of expert testimony. These tests are concerned chiefly with the authority himself rather than with the opinions he has expressed, for his opinions will be accepted as valid evidence only if he is respected. If the authority is not accepted, no matter how reliable or competent he may be, his opinions will carry little weight. The following questions will suggest the most important tests of authorities whose opinions are cited as expert.

1. *Is the reference to authority specific?* Not infrequently we hear speakers say "according to an eminent authority . . ." "most economists agree . . ." or "as one expert in the field says . . .." paying no attention to the fundamental principle of reference to authority—or, indeed, of good scholarship!—namely, that the reference should be specific. Newspaper stories also commonly violate this basic requirement and we read that "a source close to the President has said . . ." "an informed traveler from Tokyo believes . . ." or "a high governmental official declared . . ." Whether the authority referred to is eminent, expert, or informed is a matter that cannot be determined unless we know who he is and under what circumstances he testified. This does not mean that we must laboriously cite date, volume, and page for every statement attributed to another, but it does mean that some degree of specificity of reference should be employed. If the president of a public utility is testifying before a Congressional investigating committee as to the state of his corporation, it may put his testimony in an entirely different light from what he might say at an annual stockholders' meeting. Another cogent reason for making specific references is that only in this way may another person check your evidence for validity and pertinency.

2. *Is the reference to an authority who will be accepted?* We do not mean that authorities should be selected purely on the basis of their popular appeal but that certain authorities, no matter how competent, will be unacceptable to some audiences. A student speaker who in addressing a group of midwestern farmers declared

"as Trotzky himself has said . . ." showed an obvious lack of good judgment! Indeed, more harm than good may come of citing a competent authority who is not acceptable to the audience.

It is good practice to cite authorities who are not extreme in their positions. That is, to refer to an economist whom other economists regard as a heretic, or who stands alone in his belief, is not usually a wise procedure. It is true that today's extremist may be considered orthodox tomorrow, and yet if the citation is made where Veblen, Commons, or Keynes are regarded as extremists in economic theory, their testimony will not carry great weight.

3. *Is the authority generally qualified to testify?* If a person is color-blind his testimony concerning the color of a traffic light at the time of an auto accident must be regarded with suspicion. Similarly, if an individual is known, or shown, to be unreliable in any of the three elements of testimony we have already cited—observation, memory, and narration—his position as an authority must remain in some doubt. And if, because of his religious or political views, or the nature of his private or public life, a person's moral character is suspect, his testimony is likely to receive the same treatment. Thus, even though an individual may be in an unusual position to know the facts he cannot usually be regarded as an authority unless he is generally qualified—physically, mentally, and morally—to testify.

4. *Is the authority in a position to know or interpret the facts?* We are accustomed, unfortunately, to think of a man who is an acknowledged expert in one field as an authority in many fields, even those in which he actually has little knowledge or experience. Thus we may regard a physicist as an authority on international affairs, a banker on domestic relations, or a congressman on sociological problems. Now it is quite possible that we could find some physicists, bankers, or congressmen who would be qualified authorities in the fields we have mentioned, but the general presumption would be against this possibility. Rather we might find that John Gunther, able foreign correspondent, is a better authority on international affairs because he has been in a position to know the facts. So in the field of domestic relations Judge Ben K. Lindsey would be a more acceptable authority than most bankers; while Robert S. Lynd, author, with his wife, of the two

Middletown studies, would be regarded as a competent authority on sociological problems. In general it might be said that the person who is definitely a specialist in one field is in a better position to know the facts in that field than is one whose interests are diversified, although exceptions are always to be found to this generalization. In any event an authority should be carefully investigated in order to make sure of his knowledge of the facts. For, as Plato wrote in his *Protagoras*, "even though a man may be a good flute player, this is no reason to consider him an authority on politics."

5. *Is the authority aware of the significance of his testimony?* An often neglected test that should be applied to testimony is whether the authority was aware that significance would be attached to it. An expert may casually hazard a prediction, make a guess, or state an hypothesis, but to take any of these as deliberate testimony concerning facts in his field would be unfair to him and to the rules of good evidence. In this same connection we should be cautioned against taking too literally statements made in "the heat of the moment," which the maker himself would no doubt acknowledge to be exaggerated. Such, for example, was Herbert Hoover's famous speech given in the heat of the 1932 presidential campaign when he asserted that "grass will grow in the streets if my opponent is elected!" Particularly in such cases must the rule of reason prevail in taking testimony from authorities.

6. *Is the authority reluctant to testify?* If the authority in question has given reluctant testimony and there are no ulterior reasons for his doing so, his testimony may be considered of exceptional value. When former Republican presidential candidate, Alfred Landon declared that whoever was elected in 1940 must retain the broad outlines of the New Deal social program, that testimony may be considered as reluctant and therefore especially valuable. When Benito Mussolini characterized Haille Selassie as "a capable ruler of good judgment," however, it was obviously with tongue-in-cheek and not reluctant testimony.

7. *Is the authority prejudiced?* Any indication of prejudice or bias renders an authority suspect and his testimony acceptable only after careful scrutiny. When personal interests are at stake even an acknowledged expert finds it difficult to be objective and

unprejudiced. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, would find it difficult to be completely impartial in testifying as to the virtues of craft union organization, although his favorable testimony would unquestionably represent his sincere personal belief. In much the same way we cannot consider Japanese condemnation of the Lytton Commission Report on the invasion of Manchuria as unprejudiced. Care must be taken to investigate the connections and antecedents of authorities to guard against prejudiced testimony.

8. *Is the authority supported by other evidence?* All too frequently we hear public discussions or debates in which reference to authority constitutes the sum total of evidence and where the use of other materials of reasoning is ignored. It should be more widely recognized that "authorities" can be produced to support almost any point of view on any problem. By the use of "authority" we may "prove" that the world is flat, that capitalism has but ten more years in America, or that "an apple a day will keep the doctor away." It is a poor panacea peddler who cannot discover at least one "authority" to support his scheme. "Mark you this, Bassanio. The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose." We should be skeptical of reasoning which is based solely upon testimony by authorities, and demand its support by other forms of evidence.

9. *Is undue reliance placed upon a single authority?* Perhaps an even greater weakness than to use only authorities for evidence is to use but a single authority. It is seldom that we are willing to accept the word of only one man, regardless of how competent he may be. The wise procedure in using authoritative testimony, then, is to draw upon a reasonable number of experts. Thus we might better cite the testimony of Hockett, Beard, Turner, Harlow, Schlesinger, and Fish upon a moot historical question rather than rely solely upon any one of these authorities. In this connection, we may make a final general observation: every opinion or purported fact that achieves the distinction of the printed page does not mysteriously become valid thereby. In truth, for an idea to be published is often not even a distinction, and much less an indication of its reliability. A critical mind combined with a fine sense of discrimination is the best equipment for exploring evidence.

III. Special Ways of Presenting Evidence

There are two special ways of presenting evidence which are so frequently employed that some attention needs to be paid to them. These methods are (1) *the citation of statistics* and (2) *the citation of examples.*

We are more likely to use these two special methods of presentation in connection with evidence of fact than with evidence of opinion. If, for instance, we have made a personal survey of unemployment in the cities and villages of Ohio we may wish to present *statistically* the numerous observed facts involved in order to conserve time or space. Or, we may wish to pick out one specific city from all those surveyed and present a picture of it in some detail as a typical *example.*

Less frequently we might use these special methods in the presentation of evidence of opinion. If we are interested in the question of whether the New Deal has had a beneficial effect upon recovery we might send out a questionnaire to 150 leading economists. When the replies were received we might tabulate them under headings of "yes," "no," and "don't know," and present our findings in a *statistical table.* Or we might single out Professor Slichter's reply, after determining that it was typical of all of those received, and cite it as a single *example.*

The purpose of using statistics or examples for the presentation of either type of evidence is often that of condensing a large body of material so that it may be presented in a brief period. This is particularly true in the use of statistics when a few comparative figures may quickly demonstrate the result of examining thousands of single cases. The purpose of using these devices may also be to make the collected material more vivid or graphic. To say that "one out of every ten persons in Rocktown is on relief" will be more graphic than to say that "6,714 people in Rocktown are on relief." And to describe the family of John Brown may make for a more vivid and animated picture of the relief problem than to enumerate a list of general conclusions based upon a study of a thousand individual cases.

We are now ready for a more complete analysis of these special ways of presenting evidence. We will not only deal with statistics

and examples as methods of presentation but we will also suggest ways of testing each of these special devices.

A. Citation of Statistics

Perhaps one of the most common phrases used in conversation is "Statistics prove that . . ." Thus in the never-ending argument over the respective merits of the American and the National baseball leagues, each side bases its contentions upon statistics or numerical records which are presumed to prove their respective points. "Figures don't lie, but liars figure," it is often said, and many persons are inclined to mistrust statistically expressed information. However, statistics may serve as effective and honest methods of presentation. "Figures prove," says a speaker, "that there are four times as many male stutterers as there are female stutterers in the United States." This means that the speaker has taken certain numerical records of observed facts and placed them in a position of relationship; he then presents those facts in terms of that relationship. Statistics used as a device for presenting evidence, then, implies the use of a method of judging collective phenomena on the basis of enumeration of single instances. Statistics themselves are numerically expressed records of observed facts.

The most obvious advantage of the use of statistics is that they enable us to obtain a descriptive survey of a body of data that would otherwise be difficult, if not impossible, to comprehend. Still another advantage of using statistics is that they may enable us to compute averages which are helpful in predicting future phenomena in the same class, as is true of actuarial tables in the life insurance business. Finally, by the use of statistics we are able to present large quantities of data more graphically so that relationships become more apparent.[3]

Before using statistics as means of presenting evidence we should apply certain reasonable tests to them.

B. Tests of Statistics

1. *What is meant by the unit employed?* Statistics are often confusing because of the variability of the unit employed. For example,

3. For a more complete analysis of statistics the reader is referred to one of the textbooks on statistical method cited at the end of this chapter.

someone says that nation *X* has twice the naval strength of nation *Y*. But the units compared may be variable and thus make the statistics unreliable. In one case only fighting ships may be counted; in the other, airplane carriers, colliers, and minesweepers may also be included. The problem of the definition of units must always be met—what is a crime, a student, a civilian, a motor car, a highway, a Protestant, an amateur athlete, an unemployable, or a drunkard?

Similarly, when employing statistics, one must ascertain whether the unit has been changed in the course of investigation. If we are using statistics to show the prevalence of crime in the United States in the period 1900–1940 we must remember that some actions not considered criminal in 1900 are so considered in 1940. Before 1934, for instance, it was not a crime to fail to register securities offered for sale in interstate commerce, but failure to do so today is considered a criminal offense. Statistics relating to the prevalence of crime, then, would have to be checked to see if this fact was taken into consideration in defining the unit employed in the records.

2. *Are the units compared actually comparable?* If it is said that divorces in the United States have increased at a rapid rate since 1900 because in 1900 there were 9.32 divorces *per 1000 population* and in 1935 there were 16.4 divorces *per 100 marriages*, the units of measurement are obviously different, and therefore the statistics based upon them are ambiguous. Divorces per 1000 population or divorces per 100 marriages must be calculated for each of the years to establish any valid statistical comparison. So with other units employed: before making any statistically reliable conclusions on child labor in one state as compared with child labor in another state, we must be sure that "child labor" means the same in the labor statistics of both states.

3. *Are the statistics really an index to what we want to know?* To avoid being trapped by statistics which seem to be relevant but which are really not even related to the matter under investigation we must always carefully examine the relationship between the two. Although these facts might conceivably serve as a partial basis for constructing hypothetical judgments, the number of persons attending a Democratic rally in Yanktown bears little relationship to the probable success of the Democratic party in the

next election; and the hourly wage rates for carpenters in Lewisburg may have little connection with the standard of living in Lewisburg, even for carpenters.

4. *Are the statistics presented in their most significant form?* [4] When statistics are given in terms of *gross numbers* (totals), they are often apt to be misleading, whereas, if they are given in terms of *percentages* or *rates*, they may present a truer picture. If, for example, we say that there were 1,007,595 divorces in the United States in 1915 and 1,232,559 in 1929 we cannot conclude on this basis alone that the divorce rate has increased, because while the total number of divorces is greater the population is likewise greater. If we were to submit statistics in terms of percentage of population, on the other hand, we would find that in both 1915 and 1929 there were 10.14 divorces per 1000 population, and thus we might conclude that the divorce rate had not increased in terms of population percentage. In this case, statistics given in terms of percentages are more meaningful than those given in gross numbers. If, finally, we were to submit statistics in terms of the number of divorces per marriage we would find that for every 100 marriages in 1915 there were 10.4 divorces, while for every 100 marriages in 1929 there were 16.3 divorces. In this case, statistics presented in terms of rates or ratios are likewise more meaningful than those given in gross numbers.

The 1940 presidential election, like many previous ones, gave rise to a misleading conclusion which could have been averted by putting statistical data in their most significant form. Mr. Willkie's supporters consoled themselves with the observation that even though he lost the presidency he polled more votes than any previous Republican candidate. But as Walter Lippmann pointed out, "*what is significant is not the absolute number of votes polled but the proportion of the vote cast for each candidate.* By this measure Mr. Willkie was not quite so strong as Bryan in 1896 and in 1900, and just about as strong as Bryan in 1908. He was considerably weaker than Mr. Hughes in 1916 and a little but not immensely stronger than Al Smith in 1928 and than Mr. Hoover in 1932." [5]

4. Statistical data are most commonly presented by one of these media: (1) tables, (2) graphs, (3) charts, (4) average, percentage, or rate figures, (5) maps, or (6) pictographs.

5. "Today and Tomorrow," *Cleveland Plain Dealer,* Nov. 14, 1940, p. 9. (Italics ours.)

A similarly misleading observation was made by the Democrats who proclaimed that Mr. Roosevelt received the largest vote ever polled by any man who ever ran for public office. The stated fact was true but, again, the percentage of the total votes cast was more significant.

In other areas of investigation, however, percentages may be misleading. After the hard-fought football game of 1940 between North Carolina and Duke a vociferous North Carolinian shouted, "We swamped 'em! We scored twice as many points as they did!" The score was 6 to 3.

Thus the important thing for the investigator to bear in mind is that his statistics should always be presented in whatever form is most significant for the particular body of data he is studying. Still another aspect of the problem of presenting statistics in their most significant form is the use of *average*, *median*, and *mode*, three terms which are often confused.

We ordinarily think of the term "average" as meaning "typical" or "medium," but this use of the term is often misleading. If Gene Sarazen were to join a group of dub golfers the average score would be considerably lowered, and the resulting figure would be quite misleading. For the *average* means, in a mathematical sense, the total of a number of individual items divided by the number of items. Thus one extreme item may throw the average figure considerably higher or lower and give a distorted picture of the whole group. The *median*, on the other hand, is that figure which stands in the middle of a series. If grades in a certain class range from 34 to 98, the median would be that grade which stands in the middle of the series. What we often refer to when we speak of "average income," "average man," and so on, is the *mode;* that is, the measure which occurs with greatest frequency.

The difficulty of establishing an "average" or "typical case" was encountered by Agnes Rogers when she conducted an extensive survey of Vassar graduates.[6] On the basis of her statistical tables she found that the "typical Vassar alumna" studied postgraduate courses but did not take an advanced degree, taught English in a high school, and then married a college graduate who practiced law and earned a family income of $5,000 a year; she was young, the mother of two children, a member of the Episcopal Church and

6. Agnes Rogers, *Vassar Women* (Vassar College, 1940).

the Republican party. Armed with this description, Agnes Rogers set out to discover the "typical alumna," only to find that no one Vassar graduate conformed to all the specifications. The "typical alumna" was merely a statistical person, without a counterpart in real life.

Statistics conveying each of these three conventional measures —average, median, and mode—may be useful in certain cases, but it is essential that a careful check be made to see that the measure used gives a fair representation.

5. *Do the statistics cover a sufficient number of cases?* The so-called law of statistical regularity indicates that a fairly large number of items selected at random from a very large group of items is almost certain, on the average, to have the characteristics of the larger group. The danger in the use of statistical presentation on this basis is that we may forget the necessity for a "fairly large number of items" as the basis for any conclusions. To say that 50 per cent of the horses sired by Dan of Chester have won more than one hundred thousand dollars in stake races appears to be an amazing fact until we discover that Dan of Chester sired but two colts. To be statistically reliable, data must be gathered from a fairly large number of samples of a very large class. Statistics demonstrating that 50 per cent of the graduates of Home High School go on to college might well be accepted if it were known that 300 out of 1000 graduates were investigated.[7]

6. *Do the statistics cover a sufficient period of time?* Similarly if we are to derive valid statistical data, they must be based upon an adequate period of time, and upon a period which is not unusual or exceptional. If, after checking the daily temperature in the city of Chicago during the month of September, 1940, we were to find that it averaged 76.3 degrees we would not be justified in setting down this figure as a general rule. If, on the other hand, we were to check weather-bureau records over a period of thirty years and found that for that period of time the average temperature had been 65.2 degrees we might well be justified in using this figure. We might likewise question the validity of statistics concerning the average monthly sales of automobiles if the data were

7. For an analysis of the statistical method employed in the Gallup polls see George Gallup and Saul Forbes Rae, *The Pulse of Democracy* (New York, 1940), Chaps. 5 and 6.

based upon June figures, or the average number of out-of-town visitors to New York City if the data were collected during the World's Fair.

In cases where it is highly probable that the operating causes are constant, however, it may be justifiable to present statistics based upon observation over a limited period of time. The annual birthrate, for example, may be fairly calculated by observing the birth-rate from July 13–20; or the average daily bank deposits might be fairly estimated by checking the deposits in the period of March 10–17.

The importance of these last two tests, dealing with the question of whether the statistics cover a sufficient number of cases and a sufficient period of time, may be illustrated by imagining a series of ten individual items ranged along a scale of continuous variation. These items may be, for example, the grades of ten students on an examination. If we were to select at random students *A*, *B*, *C*, and *F* as bases for a statistical picture of the whole group we would find that the average grade was alleged to be 30. An

Grades	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
Students	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J

equally misleading result would follow if we chose students *D*, *E*, and *J*, or students *G*, *H*, and *I*. Hence the necessity of securing a sufficient number of cases *of representative character* is apparent.

If we were to use the same illustration, substituting "Years" for "Grades" and "National Wealth" for "Students," we would find that a selection of valid statistical data could not be made without taking the same spread as was necessary above—in this case to insure a *representative period* of time.

7. *How strongly were the gatherers of the statistics interested in the outcome?* In the examination of all types of evidence we must be on the alert to discover any bias, error, or misinterpretation arising from the special interests of the person gathering the evidence. In the case of statistical evidence these prejudicial factors may often be present. If we are seeking information as to the number of unemployed, for example, we might find four different estimates—one by the Department of Labor, another by the Republican National Committee, a third by the A. F. of L., and a fourth by the C.I.O. In each instance, the gatherers of the statis-

tics may conceivably have a strong interest in the outcome of the investigation, and this possibility must be considered in evaluating the data. In such cases, it would be advisable to examine the estimates made by a number of different agencies. This same advice, of course, is applicable to the evaluation of all types of evidence.

C. Citation of Examples

The use of examples as a specialized form of presenting evidence is not only one of the more common procedures in everyday discussion and debate but also one of the most misused. To guard against the specious use of examples requires careful analysis and testing. To use a single example in the presentation of evidence means to select one concrete instance—either a fact or an opinion—as typical of the whole class of ostensibly similar instances and to draw from that single example a conclusion concerning the whole class. Thus our neighbor might assert that all men on WPA are loafers because he saw one employee of the WPA sitting in the shade of a tree in the middle of the afternoon. From a single example he reaches a conclusion concerning an entire class.

In actual practice, however, an isolated example should seldom be relied upon in presenting evidence. Rather, a large group of examples should be selected from a whole class and a conclusion reached upon the basis of the selected examples. This procedure is often referred to as making a *generalization*—reaching a general conclusion on the basis of a limited number of facts or opinions. If our neighbor is to draw a reasonable conclusion regarding the efficiency of WPA employees, he will have to observe a large number of workers. He may find some who display a great deal of initiative, others who do considerable work, and still others who get out of as much work as they can. On the basis of these examples, the only *generalization* our neighbor could reasonably make would be that WPA employees are very much like other groups of employees.

In our discussion of the use of examples and statistics there may be observed an apparent overlapping, both in the methods of collecting them and in the uses to which they are put. We may well point out an essential difference between the two, therefore, by saying that evidence may be presented by the use of examples rather than by the use of statistics to achieve vividness and con-

creteness. Examples are often more interesting to the listener, and may well be described as animated, personalized, or vivified statistics.

The most common employment of examples in the presenting of evidence is in the increasingly popular questionnaire or sampling technique. In the early period of its development this technique was used mainly for commercial purposes. A door-to-door canvass in a selected town furnished examples for a generalization as to how many people used some commercial product. With the development of commercial radio programs, sponsors were vitally interested in knowing how many people listened to their broadcasts. The sampling technique was again used, and perhaps a thousand folks were selected at random from a phone book, and asked what radio program they were listening to. These folks were regarded as typical examples of the general listening public and generalizations were made as to the total number listening to a given radio program.

More recently this questionnaire method has been employed by agencies attempting to ascertain public opinion on matters of general interest—specific legislative acts, governmental policies, and so on. Of these the twice-a-week polls of the American Institute of Public Opinion published in many daily newspapers and the Quarterly Surveys published by *Fortune* are typical. In the field of discussion this questionnaire or survey technique has frequently been used to guide leaders in the selection of forum topics and to gain knowledge as to the general character of the forum constituency.[8]

Because so many examples may not have been carefully selected as typical of their class this presentation device, as we have observed, may be easily misused. To guard against this, any example or generalization used in presenting evidence should be subjected to the following tests.

D. Tests of Examples

1. *Have the examples been chosen to support a preconceived conclusion?* Certain newspaper editorials read as though the writer

8. For examples of the use of this technique see *A Step Forward for Adult Civic Education* (Bulletin, 1936, No. 16, Govt. Printing Office, Washington, D.C.), and John W. Studebaker, *The American Way* (New York, 1935), especially Chapter V.

had been told, "This is the paper's policy—now go out and find some examples to support it!" Similarly, the writer who believes in communism may produce a book citing only those examples of life in Russia which reflect favorably upon communism. In 1939 when President Roosevelt acceded to the pleas of retail merchants and set Thanksgiving Day a week earlier in order to allow more time between Thanksgiving and Christmas for holiday shopping, this action was seized upon as an example of Roosevelt's tendency to centralize government and to wield great personal power. The newspapers quoted one Vermont stenographer's opinions on Thanksgiving, "It's a state tradition; Roosevelt's violating states' rights again!" In evaluating evidence presented by example, the first step is to determine whether or not the example was selected to support a preconceived and otherwise unvalidated conclusion.

2. *Are the examples fair representatives of their class?* To be acceptable as valid evidence an example must be a fair sample of the class it represents. While the representative character of any example may be difficult to determine it is seldom impossible to find other examples of the same class so that a collective judgment may be expressed. This procedure may often tend to invalidate the evidence indicated by any single example. It would be manifestly unfair to judge a whole race of people by an unfortunate acquaintance with one member of it, the entire Congress by experience with one senator, or a writer by reading a single essay. The way to avoid this error is to study many examples chosen from the same class and to be sure that they are fairly representative.

3. *Are there contrary examples which have not been considered?* Closely allied with the last test is this one which asks whether there are any examples which do not adhere to "the general rule" which appears to govern all examples of a certain class. If there are such contrary examples, they may not necessarily negate the evidence of that general rule, but they should be recorded and incorporated into the conclusion. Assume that we are polling half of the members of the graduating class of Hapgood College as to what they expect to be earning ten years after graduation. The results might be like this:

1 person	$1,500	9 persons	4,500
8 persons	4,000	6 persons	5,000
		1 person	10,000

On the basis of these 25 examples we might ordinarily say that "as a general rule Hapgood College graduates expect to be earning $4,000–5,000 ten years after graduation." But to give our conclusion greater validity it should be qualified to include the two definitely contrary examples—one person who expects to earn but $1,500 and the other who expects $10,000. These are not exceptions which "prove the rule" but contrary examples which give a more accurate picture of the extent to which the general rule may be considered valid.

4. *Do the examples represent a large enough portion of their class to justify a generalization?* In applying this test, there can obviously be no final or definitive point at which "a large enough portion of the class" is represented. In some areas of investigation, such as the laws of physics and chemistry, a very few examples may give sufficient evidence to permit a valid generalization. If a properly conducted experiment shows that when solution *M* is added to chemical *N* the result is *O* there is probably little value in endlessly repeating the experiment. In other areas of investigation, however, where belief, opinion, prejudice, or personal likes and dislikes are concerned, the number of examples necessary to justify a generalization is considerably increased. In such a question as "What do the American people think of socialized medicine?" or "How is H. G. Wells ranked as a novelist in America?" random opinions of two or three people would obviously be inadequate as the basis for a generalization. A good general rule is that "the greater the possible variations in answer to our question, the wider must be the field of observation, in order to justify a generalization." [9]

5. *Are the facts concerning the examples verifiable?* One of the obvious steps in testing an example is to examine its factual basis. This means checking the source and sometimes the authority involved. The generalized statement that not one out of ten voters in Whitetown would vote to return Senator Blank to the Senate might indicate opposition to the senator, but, unless we knew whether or not Senator Blank had carried Whitetown six years ago, it would not necessarily indicate a shift of Whitetown opinion. In every case, an example or a generalization should be tested

9. J. M. O'Neill, C. Laycock, and R. L. Scales, *Argumentation and Debate* (New York, 1917), p. 162.

not only as to the facts underlying it but also as to its real significance for the problem being explored.

6. *Is there other evidence to support the probability of the validity of the generalization?* A final test of the validity of an example is whether the conclusion indicated is a probable one. A most effective way of making this test is to inquire whether other evidence tends to indicate the same conclusion. If there are other observed facts or authoritative opinions which tend to support the conclusion reached on the basis of an example, a high probability of validity is established. But if the generalization is unsupported by other forms of evidence, it should be regarded as of at least doubtful validity.

IV. Suggestions for Gathering Evidence

In concluding our discussion of evidence, we offer a few suggestions which experience shows are often helpful in the gathering of evidence.

A. Gather Enough Evidence

To the obvious question "How much evidence shall I gather?" there is obviously no definite answer. Few participants in discussion or debate suffer from having too much evidence! In very few cases will every piece of evidence gathered be used in a discussion or a debate, but, because every audience situation may be different, it may be said that the more evidence a speaker has gathered the better he can adapt his argument to any given audience.

B. Seek a Variety of Evidence

Whenever possible, gather both facts and opinions. Observed facts alone are probably no better than testimony of authorities only; a judicious combination of both types is superior to either. Whenever possible, evidence of observed facts should be gathered, and, when this is impossible, testimony of the most competent authorities available must be relied upon. Recalling that certain authorities will not be acceptable to some audiences, it is advisable to find as many different authorities as possible to be prepared for a maximum amount of audience adaptation.

C. Document Evidence Carefully

A final suggestion for the gathering of evidence is to review the chapter on research. Of special importance is what was said regarding the recording of evidence. Accurate and complete documentation of each piece of evidence as it is gathered may save many hours of research later on, and avoid embarrassment when an exact source is called for in a discussion or debate.

A critical and observant mind together with a keenly developed sense of discrimination are the most valuable resources in gathering evidence.

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EXERCISES

*1. Write out, on properly documented cards, five pieces of factual evidence and five pieces of evidence by authority, all relating to your problem for intensive study during the semester.

*2. Write out a 500-word statement concerning the problem you

have selected for intensive study throughout the semester, marginally annotating the types of evidence employed.

3. From a study of library references find one competent authority on each of the following subjects:

(a) Machinery for world peace.
(b) Federal taxation.
(c) Advertising.
(d) Consumer co-operatives.
(e) Popular music.

4. Analyze an editorial from a current newspaper on a timely subject and determine how much of it is based upon (a) fact, (b) authority, and (c) assertion.

5. Clip three advertisements of different nationally advertised products from current magazines (not the library's copies!) and write a brief analysis of each one covering these points:

(a) How much of each advertisement is statement of observed fact, authoritative opinion, or mere assertion?
(b) How does each advertisement stand up under application of appropriate tests of evidence?
(c) If you were contemplating a purchase would you, on the basis of the advertisement, buy the specific product urged upon you by the advertisement?

6. Find ten pieces of evidence used in a class discussion or debate and analyze each one in accordance with the tests proposed in this chapter.

7. Attend a discussion or debate or read a transcript from the list in the Appendix, and evaluate five pieces of evidence employed in the discussion.

8. Under what circumstances and upon what sample problem would each of the following persons be considered a good authority?

(a) A college professor.
(b) A local bank president.
(c) The president of the local Chamber of Commerce.
(d) The first man to fly solo across the Atlantic.
(e) The governor of your state.

9. In recent public debates on American foreign policy the following statements have been submitted as evidence by the participants. As they are reproduced here complete documentation has been omitted purposely in most cases—to evaluate these statements may require careful investigation of their sources. Examine each of these pieces of evidence to determine: (a) the type of evidence which it is; (b) the special form of presentation, if any, that it represents; (c) its probable

validity in terms of the application of appropriate tests. A useful device may be to rank these statements according to your estimate of their validity.

(a) "American factories are making more than the American people can use; American soil is producing more than they can consume. Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours. And we shall get it as our mother [England] has told us how. We will establish trading posts throughout the world. . . . We will cover the ocean with our merchant marine. We will build a navy to the measure of our greatness. Great colonies governing themselves, flying our flag and trading with us will grow about our posts of trade. Our institutions will follow our flag on the wings of our commerce. And American law, American order, American civilization, and the American flag will plant themselves on shores hitherto bloody and benighted, but by those agencies of God henceforth to be made beautiful and bright." (Albert J. Beveridge, *circa* 1890.)

(b) "We shall continue to observe a true neutrality in the disputes of others; to be prepared resolutely to resist aggression against ourselves; to work for peace and to take profits out of war; to guard against being drawn, by political commitments, international banking, or private trading, into any war which may develop anywhere." (1936 Democratic Party platform.)

(c) "In an economic sense the United States is far more independent than it was in 1783, when the Republic was launched and, what is more, better able to defend itself against all comers. Why, as Washington asked, quit our own to stand on foreign ground?" (Charles A. Beard, 1939.)

(d) "Our foreign policy is regulated finally by an attempt to neutralize the fact that America has preponderant power and decisive influence in the affairs of the world. . . . What Rome was to the ancient world, what Great Britain has been to the modern world, America is to be to the world of tomorrow. . . . We cling to the mentality of a little nation on the frontiers of the civilized world, though we have the opportunity, the power, and the responsibilities of a very great nation at the center of the civilized world." (Walter Lippmann, 1939.)

(e) "European statesmen are nothing but a passel of sharp schemers and cunning intriguers—and if their pot boils over we ought to let them stew in their own juice." (A newspaper editorial, 1939.)

(f) "In the world of reality it is a fact that our exports account for only five per cent of our annual national income. This contrasts

markedly with the British figure of twenty per cent, or the French of twenty-five. In other words, American economy is more than ninety per cent self-contained. But this neither means that we shall push on to one hundred per cent autarchy nor go in the English direction. It is pretty safe to predict that the United States of the future is not going to be vastly different from the United States of the past twenty years so far as its position in world commerce is concerned." (John Chamberlain, 1939.)

(g) *Sales to Latin America*

	1913	*1929*	*1937*	*1938**
United States	25.03	38.7	34.3	36.1
United Kingdom	24.42	14.9	12.6	12.2
Germany	16.55	10.8	15.3	17.0
France	8.32	5.1	2.9	3.5
Italy	4.98	5.0	2.6	3.1
Japan	.14	1.0	2.7	2.6

Purchases from Latin America

	1913	*1929*	*1937*	*1938**
United States	30.78	34.0	31.1	31.7
United Kingdom	21.24	18.5	17.6	16.3
Germany	12.38	8.1	8.7	10.6
France	7.99	6.2	4.0	4.0
Italy	1.99	3.0	3.1	1.5
Japan	.09	1.0	1.6	1.3

—U.S. Department of Commerce.
(* estimated figures)

(h) "'Ownership' of tropical rubber and tin is immaterial to us in the long run; an economy that does sixty or seventy billion dollars' worth of business a year is going to have salesmen on its doorstep no matter what the nationality." (John Chamberlain, 1939.)

(i) "Our people are decided in the opinion, that it is necessary for us to take a share in the occupation of the ocean, and their established habits induce them to require that the sea be kept open to them, and that that line of policy be pursued, which will render the use of that element to them as great as possible. . . . But what will be the consequence? Frequent wars without a doubt. Their property will be violated on the sea, and in foreign ports, their persons will be insulted, imprisoned, etc., for pretended debts, contracts, crimes, contraband, etc., etc. These

insults must be resented, even if we had no feelings, yet to prevent their eternal repetition; or, in other words, our commerce on the ocean and in other countries, must be paid for by frequent war." (Thomas Jefferson, letter to John Jay, Aug. 23, 1785.)

(j) "Mr. Millis confessed that he thought he himself supplied 'a good deal of ammunition' for the isolationists in his account of the United States' entry into the last war in *Road to War*. He said, however, that in describing the 'blunders of the last occasion' he never intended to prove that they must inevitably be repeated on another. . . . Mr. Millis said that it was not sufficiently realized that a sense of the changing world order felt by both England and France differentiated the present war from the last one. . . ." (A newspaper account of a speech by Walter Millis to the New York Junior League, Feb. 13, 1940.)

(k) "No man is wise enough, no nation is important enough, no human interest is precious enough to justify the wholesale destruction and murder which constitute war. . . ." (John Haynes Holmes, *circa* 1916.)

(l) "The United States certainly didn't offer 'all measures short of war' to help China, nor Ethiopia, nor Spain, nor Czechoslovakia. Why all this urge to help 'Perfidious Albion' out of a hole?" (A newspaper editorial, 1940.)

(m) "Every rational citizen must wish to see an effective instrument of coercion, and should fear to see it on any other element than the water. A naval force can never endanger our liberties, nor occasion bloodshed; a land force would do both." (Thomas Jefferson, letter to James Monroe, Aug. 11, 1786.)

(n) "A survey made among a large number of American psychologists showed that ninety-two per cent of them do not believe that human nature possesses any ineradicable, instinctive factor that makes international wars inevitable." Doesn't this prove that the United States is not apt to be drawn into a European war? (Quotation from *Collier's*, Aug. 24, 1940, p. 6.)

(o) "We cannot be sure that Hitler should be condemned. . . . Didn't Dr. Frank Nathan Daniel Buchman, founder of the Moral Rearmament movement, say 'I thank God for Adolf Hitler who built a front line of defense against the anti-Christ of Communism' "? (Newspaper editorial, 1940.)

(p) "The longer it [the war] goes on, the weaker our family of nations will be, and the more it will add to the conquests of Russia and Japan. . . . Germany is as essential to this group

[of civilized nations] as England or France, for she alone can either dam the Asiatic hordes or form the spearhead of their penetration into Europe." (Charles A. Lindbergh, 1940.)

(q) "That is why we in Britain and France and in the young democracies across the seas have gradually been driven to the conclusion, especially since the Russian invasion of Finland, that we are confronted with one more of those tremendous struggles between freedom and tyranny which have been the central theme of history ever since the Greeks turned back the power of Persia at Thermopylae and Salamis. The democracies of today are the heirs, the fortunate heirs, of the struggles of their ancestors to establish freedom firmly upon earth. . . ." (Lord Lothian, British ambassador to the United States, in a speech, 1940.)

(r) " 'Lebensraum' simply means 'living space'—or perhaps 'breathing space.' A man occupies only a few cubic feet of space, but to live he must have around him space from which he can draw the elements necessary to life. An individual is an organism. So is a nation. Both must have breathing space or they suffocate.

"When translated or interpreted into its equivalent English terms, the German word 'Lebensraum' loses its sinister appearance. It simply becomes a normal and fundamental aspiration." (*Facts in Review*, The German Library of Information, 1939.)

(s) "Germany is the most peace-loving country on earth. In the last three centuries England has waged 144 campaigns, France 89, but Germany only 39, of which 14 were against Austria and 16 against Bavaria, to establish the unity of the Reich." (German short-wave radio announcer, 1940.)

CHAPTER IX

Exploring the Problem: Argument

In the last chapter we presented reasoning as a process of inference. We used the word *evidence* to describe the accepted truths or materials of reasoning, and the word *argument* to describe the process of inferring a conclusion from those truths. Now we are ready to consider the ways in which these materials of reasoning may be used in reaching valid conclusions. It must be remembered that the development of valid conclusions depends entirely upon this relationship between the materials and the methods of reasoning. Argument without evidence is mere speculation and emotionalized thinking. It is like an automobile without a steering wheel—the car will run, but aimlessly.

A great deal has been written about the value of studying argumentation and logic for "mental discipline." This concept of argumentation is misleading for it often gives rise to the notion that the primary end of such study is a knowledge of the forms and classifications of argument. There is no mystic efficacy in this knowledge which will automatically make its holder a reflective thinker. The place of argument in reflective thinking is that of a working tool whose use will add clarity and efficiency to the process.

It should also be observed that a mere knowledge of the forms of argument will not, *per se*, furnish us with a method for public presentation of the conclusions we reach. That is, we do not preface our remarks in a discussion meeting with the statement that we have arranged them into categorical syllogisms. Indeed, we would have few hearers if we did! Nor do we analyze another's discussion by pointing out that, in terms of syllogistic form, he has used an "undistributed middle" or an "illicit minor." Here again, a study

of the forms of argument is valuable not as an end in itself, but because, when used as tools of reflective thinking, they will add clarity to our participation in discussion or debate.

The forms of argument may be most efficiently studied by examining four general methods of reasoning:

(1) deductive reasoning;
(2) inductive reasoning;
(3) reasoning by analogy;
(4) reasoning by causal relationship.

I. Deductive Reasoning

A. Definition

Briefly stated, deductive reasoning is what happens when we proceed from two propositions, or premises, to a conclusion based upon those propositions. The argument is that which bridges the gap between the premises and the conclusion. To keep the figure, it is as if the premises form one bank of a river and the conclusion the other bank. If the premises are structurally sound they will be strong enough to carry the argument, or bridge, across to the conclusion on the opposite bank. The test of the validity of the entire argument is whether the premises are strong enough to support it to the conclusion.

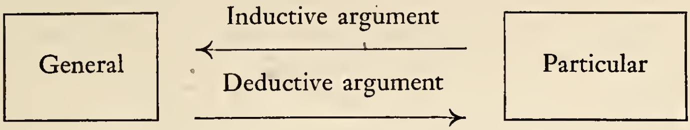
A further feature of deductive reasoning is that it always proceeds from the general to the particular. Thus we may have this argument:

All pictures directed by Frank Capra are good. (general)
This picture was directed by Frank Capra.
Therefore this is a good picture. (particular)

Inductive reasoning, on the other hand, always proceeds from the particular to the general. By induction we might derive this argument:

Capra's "Lady for a Day" was a good picture.
Capra's "It Happened One Night" was a good picture.
Capra's "Mr. Deeds Goes to Town" was a good picture. (particular)
Capra's "Lost Horizon" was a good picture.
Therefore all pictures directed by Frank Capra are good. (general)

The comparison between deductive and inductive argument, then, may be reduced to a simple schema—deductive argument starts from the general proposition and travels to the particular conclusion, and inductive argument starts from the particular instance and travels to the general conclusion. Thus:



As these illustrations have indicated, there is a direct relationship between deduction and induction. In order to derive the premise "all pictures directed by Frank Capra are good" in the first argument, the entire inductive reasoning of the second argument was necessary. And in order to establish each of the particular truths stated in the second argument some inductive inference was necessary. Thus each of these arguments might justifiably be described as both deductive and inductive, the designation in either case depending upon the viewpoint of the observer.

B. The Syllogism

For the sake of clarity and convenience in studying it, a complete deductive argument is usually set forth in the form of a syllogism. Like other argumentative forms, a syllogism is not reasoning in itself, but simply a device by which reasoning may be expressed. A syllogism is an argument in which three propositions are related in such a way that one of them (the conclusion) follows from the other two (the premises). The premises are designated separately as a major premise and a minor premise. The major premise usually sets forth a broad and general law, a generalization which is applicable to particular cases, while the minor premise refers specifically to the particular case at hand. The conclusion, of course, contains the inference to be made from the premises. Because the conclusion may be considered a "reasoning together" of the premises it is usually preceded by the word "therefore" or "hence."

The typical form assumed by a syllogistic argument is this:

You can fool all of the people some of the time. (major premise)
Senator Smank says he is "one of the people." (minor premise)
Therefore you can fool Senator Smank some of the time. (conclusion)

Still another feature of the typical syllogism is the presence of three terms, each term constituting a separate class. The major and minor terms both appear in the conclusion and one of them appears in each of the premises either as subject or predicate. The middle term does not appear in the conclusion since it serves only as a link between the major and minor terms, usually placing the minor term within the class of the major term. Adding designations of these three terms a typical syllogism may be labeled thus:

$\overset{\text{middle term}}{\overline{\text{All democracies}}}$ $\overset{\text{major term}}{\overline{\text{are peace-loving.}}}$ (major premise)

$\overset{\text{minor term}}{\overline{\text{The United States}}}$ $\overset{\text{middle term}}{\overline{\text{is a democracy.}}}$ (minor premise)

Therefore $\overset{\text{minor term}}{\overline{\text{the United States}}}$ $\overset{\text{major term}}{\overline{\text{is peace-loving.}}}$ (conclusion)

C. Testing a Syllogism

To test the validity of a syllogism so far as its logical form is concerned (but not for the validity of each of its premises) it may be checked against the following rules for the construction of a categorical syllogism. The syllogism cannot be valid if it violates any one of them.

1. A syllogism must contain exactly three terms, each of which appears twice in the syllogism, and each of which is used in the same sense each time.
2. A syllogism must contain exactly three propositions.[1]
3. The middle term must be distributed (take in all members of the class) in at least one premise.
4. A term may be distributed in the conclusion only if it is distributed in the premises.
5. If one premise is negative (contains a negative statement) the conclusion must be negative. (A negative conclusion is impossible without one negative premise.)
6. If both premises are negative no conclusion can be inferred.
7. If one premise is particular rather than universal (refers to "*some* . . ." rather than to "*all* . . .") the conclusion must be par-

1. The first two rules do not actually check the validity of a syllogism; without their observance no syllogism exists.

ticular. (A particular conclusion is impossible without one particular premise.)

8. If both premises are particular no conclusion can be inferred.[2]

It was suggested above that these rules for testing a syllogism do not test anything other than its logical form and the consistency of the interrelationships of its propositions, and this fact should always be borne in mind when dealing with syllogistic reasoning. If the form and interrelationships of the propositions are logical the argument is consistent within itself, but the conclusion inferred is true only if the two premises are true. Thus, to test the truth of the conclusion in a syllogism, an effort must be made to verify each of the premises.

D. Types of Syllogisms

So far we have considered the syllogism as a single structural form of reasoning. Ordinarily, however, logicians differentiate three types of syllogisms: *the categorical*, *the hypothetical*, *and the disjunctive*. These three types we shall now consider briefly together with special rules which apply to each.

1. *The categorical syllogism.* All of the illustrations used thus far in this chapter have been of the categorical type as is this one:

Students who pay their tuition are eligible to debate.
John Lawson has paid his tuition.
Therefore John Lawson is eligible to debate.

The categorical syllogism is made up of three propositions which relate three terms; that is, because of their relation to a third term, two terms are combined in a conclusion. Here the major premise is a definite statement concerning all of the members of a certain class—those who pay their tuition. The minor premise indicates the relationship of John Lawson to that class; and the conclusion applies the general principle of the first premise to the particular case indicated in the minor premise.

To ascertain the formal validity of a categorical syllogism it should be checked against the eight rules which were given earlier. Following are two more examples of the categorical syllogism which may be so checked:

2. To each specific violation of these rules the logician has assigned a special type of fallacy. For an analysis of these the reader is referred to the logic texts listed at the end of this chapter.

Every Certified Accountant must pass a state examination.
Roger Parke is a Certified Accountant.
Therefore Roger Parke has passed a state examination.

Only those who believe in a high tariff are Republicans.
Homer Busby opposes a low tariff.
Therefore Homer Busby is a Republican.

2. *The hypothetical syllogism.* "If this is true, then this follows" is the general form assumed by the hypothetical syllogism. For example:

If we can pledge thirteen men the financial status of our fraternity is assured.
We can pledge thirteen men.
Therefore the financial status of our fraternity is assured.

Here the major premise is a conditional proposition in which the conditional clause ("*if we can* . . .") is called the *antecedent,* and the second clause ("*the financial status* . . .") is called the *consequent.* In order to be valid the minor premise in a hypothetical syllogism must satisfy the condition set up in the major premise; that is, affirm the antecedent or deny the consequent. If the minor premise does either of these two, the conclusion will be valid. In the example just noted the antecedent has been affirmed. If the minor premise fails to satisfy the condition of the major premise by either affirming the antecedent or denying the consequent the conclusion will be invalid.

A special rule must be considered, then, in determining the validity of a hypothetical syllogism—the minor premise must affirm the antecedent or deny the consequent of the major premise. The following examples may be studied on this count:

If prize fighting is inhumane it would be made illegal.
Prize fighting has not been made illegal.
Therefore prize fighting is not inhumane.

If the miners go on strike the operators will lose many orders.
The miners are going on strike.
Therefore the operators will lose many orders.

3. *The Disjunctive Syllogism.* The general form of the disjunctive syllogism is "Either . . . or . . ." offering two or more alternative possibilities. Thus:

Either John Rutland acquired his fortune honestly or else he acquired it fraudulently.
John Rutland did not acquire it fraudulently.
Therefore John Rutland acquired his fortune honestly.

As we have said, the major premise in a disjunctive syllogism offers alternative possibilities and, in order to be valid, the minor premise must accept or reject one of them, while the conclusion either accepts or rejects the other. If the minor premise accepts one alternative the conclusion must reject the other, and *vice versa.*

The form of the disjunctive syllogism requires respect for two special rules if its conclusion is to be considered valid. (a) The alternative possibilities set forth in the major premise must be mutually exclusive; if one is true the other must definitely be untrue. Because a man may be both intelligent and dishonest, for example, we cannot assert that he is intelligent and categorically deny that he is dishonest. (b) The alternative possibilities set forth in the major premise must be all-inclusive. That is, they must include all possible alternatives, leaving no other choice than among those mentioned. Apply these special rules to the disjunctive syllogisms which follow:

Either democracy or dictatorship must rule the world.
Democracy cannot rule the world.
Therefore dictatorship must rule the world.

Either a man believes everything he reads in the Bible or he accepts the theory of evolution.
A man cannot reject the Bible.
Therefore a man must reject the theory of evolution.

Before leaving the disjunctive syllogism, a special note should be added concerning the *dilemma,* an argumentative device often encountered in debate. In the construction of a dilemma, the technical procedure is to make the major premise into two hypothetical propositions and the minor premise into a disjunctive proposition. In practice this usually means that two or more alternatives are presented, neither one of which is desirable. For example:

If a cititzen supports machine politicians he injures the cause of true democracy; and if he votes against the machine politicians he is throwing his vote away.
But either he supports machine politicians or he does not.

Therefore he either injures the cause of true democracy, or he throws his vote away.

Here, apparently, our voter's action will be futile, whichever choice he makes. Formidable as a dilemma may appear in its syllogistic dress, however, there are three ways in which it may be met. (a) One may *slip between the horns* of a dilemma by demonstrating that there is some alternative other than those offered in the major premise. (b) One may *take a dilemma by the horns* and accept one of the alternatives and show that the alleged consequences will not necessarily follow. Or (c) one may attempt a *rebuttal* of a dilemma by substituting terms and formulating another dilemma with a contradictory conclusion.

Using one of these three methods try to meet each of the following dilemmas:

If an American citizen advocates changing the Constitution he is a revolutionist; and if he is opposed to changing the Constitution he is a tory.
Either he advocates changing the Constitution or he does not.
Therefore he is either a revolutionist or a tory.

If a college professor alters his teaching to conform to the tenets of the Teachers Loyalty Oath he is violating his convictions; and if he does not alter his teaching he is violating his oath.
Either he alters his teaching or he does not.
Therefore he either violates his convictions or his oath.

E. Nonsyllogistic Forms

In discussion meetings or in everyday conversation we are not likely to meet arguments formally presented as syllogisms although we may frequently encounter arguments which are in reality abbreviated or expanded syllogisms. Of these forms of argument we shall consider two: (1) *the enthymeme*, and (2) *the chain of reasoning (or sorites)*.

1. *The enthymeme.* While there is not universal agreement on the point, an enthymeme is commonly conceived of as an incomplete argument; that is, an argument where one of the premises or the conclusion is not expressed. In Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* we find an enthymeme in this incomplete argument: "She is a woman, therefore may be won." Common as this type of assertion

is in literature we are more interested in its appearance in our everyday lives. "I wouldn't think of wearing silk stockings and supporting Japanese aggression," says a housewife. Or "vote Republican and return prosperity," asserts an editorial. In both cases one part of the complete syllogistic argument has been omitted. Often the enthymeme (sometimes called "argument by implication") is employed to conceal shallow thinking although in other instances it may be expanded to make a valid syllogism. Analyze these enthymemes and determine their validity by attempting to expand them into valid arguments:

Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.
George must have a B average; he's on the football team.

2. *The chain of reasoning.* This type of argument which also appears in nonsyllogistic form is accurately described by its name, for it is actually a chain or succession of syllogisms with all conclusions but the last suppressed. Such an argument may be expressed this way:

All persons who have been to school can read.
All persons who can read are intelligent.
All persons who are intelligent are educated.
Therefore all persons who have been to school are educated.

To analyze such an argument it is necessary to begin with the first part of the chain and express each separate link in a complete syllogism, testing each of these for its individual validity. Employ this procedure in analyzing the following chain of reasoning:

All students seek an education.
All education comes through study.
All study is profitable.
All that is profitable is good.
Therefore all students are good.

F. Using the Syllogism in Reasoning

In concluding our discussion of deductive reasoning and the syllogistic form of argument, we need to recall what was said at the outset—the syllogism is not an end in itself, but is simply a schema in which reasoning may be expressed. Even as it is a mechanism for the expression of reasoning, so too it may be a mechanism for

examining and testing reasoning. When we hear an argument advanced or read a printed assertion, we may find the use of the syllogism an efficient device for arranging the argument in a way that will make clear the assumptions or premises upon which it rests. In this way, we may improve our ability to think reflectively as well as our facility in analyzing the reasoning of others.

II. Inductive Reasoning

A. Definition

Inductive reasoning, as we have already indicated, is primarily concerned with the translation of particular instances, *en masse*, into general propositions. Thus we may define inductive reasoning as the method of systematic investigation—discovering, analyzing, and explaining particular cases or facts, in order to determine the existence, or nonexistence, of a general law. As we have seen earlier, the complete process of reflective thinking relies both upon the evidence of induction and the inference of deduction.

Historically we might illustrate this relationship by pointing out that logic meant, for Aristotle, the bringing of beliefs into harmony with one another. Hence, Aristotelian logic was concerned primarily with deduction, "the logic of consistency," in which the syllogism was the keystone. In medieval times, this approach to logic was perverted to mean the bringing of beliefs into harmony with dogma. In the contemporary world, we are unfortunately witnessing a return to this conception as, in totalitarian states, belief is forced into harmony with dictated dogma. With the development of modern science, however, a new phase of logic was likewise developed, the bringing of beliefs into harmony with facts. Thus logic is also concerned with induction, "the logic of investigation." With the union of these logical phases of deduction and induction, we become concerned that an argument not only be consistent within itself, but that it also be consistent with other known facts.

To determine this factual consistency, then, we call upon induction or systematic investigation. Because its development was coincident with that of science it is commonly referred to as the "scientific method." In an earlier chapter we described this method

as one of (1) *inquiry* into the available facts concerning a given problem, followed by the formulation of a (2) *hypothesis* or theoretical solution, which is used as the basis for (3) *experiment* or practical application of the theory, from the results of which a (4) *conclusion*, which may or may not validate the hypothesis, is drawn.

If we examine this method of systematic investigation we find that there are really three separate phases, each of which may be described by one of the terms with which we have been dealing. The first phase is that of pure *induction*, the observation of facts and the verification of observations. The second phase is that of *hypothesizing*, the formulation of hypothetical relationships among the facts discovered through pure induction. The third and final phase is that of *deduction*, the thinking through of the implications of the hypothesis or general law in terms of what we know of the particular facts. Thus, as we have been at some pains to show, although induction may be defined and classified as a separate method of reasoning, in practice it is the constant companion of deduction in the complete process of reflective thinking.

B. Applied Induction

Induction, in an applied sense, is the taking of the first step of inquiry, or observation and verification of evidence, together with the placement of that evidence in a position of relationship to the problem under investigation.

To make this procedure more clear we may distinguish between *perfect induction* and *imperfect induction*. When induction is perfect we examine *all* particular instances and therefore are dealing with universal phenomena. When induction is imperfect we examine only *a few*, *some*, or *most* of the particular instances. In perfect induction, then, the conclusion contains all that is set forth in the premises; in imperfect induction the conclusion contains more than is set forth in the premises. Thus we might have these two examples, the first of perfect induction, and the second of imperfect induction:

(1) The question at issue is whether the members of the City Council believe the city of Glenway is able to assume sole responsibility for supporting its unemployed. The five members of the City Council are

in the best position to know whether this may be done on the basis of the present tax income of Glenway. When privately interviewed on the matter

Councilman Adamowsky replied in the negative,
Councilman Calkins replied in the negative,
Councilman Maloney replied in the negative,
Councilman Sharp replied in the negative,
and Councilman Webster replied in the negative.

It is apparent, therefore, that, so far as the Council members are concerned, Glenway is unable to assume this responsibility on the basis of its present tax income, and we must look to some other source for help.

(2) Your Inquiring Reporter queried 100 students selected at random yesterday as to whether they thought the present activity fee should be raised from eight to ten dollars each for the 700 students of Conway College. Without a single exception the 100 students queried replied "no." It is obvious, therefore, that the students of Conway College are not in favor of the proposed increase.

In both of these illustrations you will recognize that the investigator was obtaining evidence by the use of induction. In the first illustration the conclusion contained all that was set forth in the premises, since each of the five members of the city council had been interrogated; and thus a perfect induction resulted. In the second illustration, however, but one out of seven students of Conway was questioned, and on the basis of that sampling a conclusion was reached which covered all of the students, or more than was contained in the premises. This, then, was an imperfect induction or, as you will recall from our discussion of evidence, a generalization.

We might illustrate the use of induction as it is concerned with other materials of reasoning in much the same way, for the materials of induction are those types of evidence discussed in the last chapter: facts and opinions, either of which may be expressed in terms of statistics or examples. The observation and verification of these types of evidence as they relate to the particular problem at hand is the business of inductive reasoning.

For the reader who is interested in pursuing induction through its more formalized procedures (known to logicians as simple enumeration, joint method of agreement and difference, method of agreement, method of difference, and method of concomitant

variations) the study of any good fundamental text in logic is recommended. For the purposes of everyday discussion and debate, however, an application of the procedures outlined here will aid materially in the development of reflective thinking.

C. Proof and Probability

Before we conclude our discussion of the companion processes of deductive and inductive reasoning, what has been implicit throughout needs explicit statement: deduction attempts *proof*, while induction seeks *probabilities*. That is, deduction attempts proof in the sense that if premises are accepted as valid and if their relationship is sound they prove the conclusion. In the case of induction, however, the assembled evidence impels the formulation of an hypothesis which asserts only a probability. Thus it is possible that a given set of accepted facts may, in the hands of different observers, impel different and even contrasting hypotheses or probabilities. Nowhere is this fact better illustrated than in a legal proceeding where the evidence is all circumstantial and the judge or jury can but choose the hypothesis which seems most probable. This was aptly demonstrated in one of the most famous of contemporary trials when Bruno Hauptmann was accused of kidnaping the Lindbergh baby. Here the defense attorney, instead of denying the assembled evidence, accepted it and used it to build the hypothesis that Jafsie Condon rather than Hauptmann was the real kidnaper! There was no conclusive *proof* for either hypothesis and so the jury had to choose the one that seemed more probable.

In dealing with induction, then, it must be remembered that we are dealing with probabilities rather than with absolute proofs, that the same evidence may be used to support contrary hypotheses, and that in these circumstances systematic investigation of the most careful nature is essential in the interests of reflective thinking.

III. Reasoning by Analogy

A. Definition

An argument by analogy is an assertion that because two things resemble each other in certain respects they will also resemble each

other in one or more unobserved respects. Thus we may argue that since a certain Gar Wood speedboat has the same horsepower engine, and the same dimensions, color, capacity, and draft as a certain Chris Craft speedboat their maximum speeds (about which we know nothing) will also be the same. This type of reasoning is probably as old as the human race for it relies simply upon the application of our experience in familiar areas to reasoning in unfamiliar areas. Indeed it has been said that analogy is the basis of all of our reasoning about new and unexplored fields. "Man is primarily analogical rather than logical!" says Professor Jastrow. When men first began to talk of building machines which would fly through the air innumerable arguments by analogy were presented to demonstrate that the plan was fantastic. And it may have been reasoning by analogy that included a buggy whip as standard equipment on our first automobiles!

The use of an analogy in argumentation, then, is especially concerned with the particular type of presentation of evidence which we know as example. On the basis of the evidence furnished by an example within our own experience, we reason by analogy about an unexperienced situation.

In the range of our everyday contacts many things which were no doubt once reasoned about by analogy have now become familiar, tested, and classified to such a degree that analogy is no longer used in our thinking about them. Such terms as *philistinism*, *anglicized*, and *solid as the rock of Gibraltar* are of this class. Other things that have been classified may even carry the stamp of early reasoning by analogy in their present names: the American Indian, for example, derived by analogy the name of *iron horse* for a locomotive, and the same type of analogical origin is to be found in our word for the *buggy-whip* type of radio aerial on automobiles. Some other terms in everyday use, however, almost require reasoning by means of analogy because of the indefiniteness of the class they cover. The word *aggressor*, for example, may today refer to a nation which exerts economic, political or propaganda pressure on its neighbors, and only by analogy do we associate this with the original military meaning of the word. Similar confusion may result from the use of the words *neutrality*, *nonbelligerency*, and so on.

B. The Analogy in Practice

In its practical usage, reasoning by analogy may be of two different kinds, distinguished by the terms *literal analogy* and *figurative analogy*.

1. *The literal analogy*. When we reason by literal analogy we are comparing two things which belong to the same class. Thus two food products may be reasoned about in this way: "*Cornies* are made by the Holsum Food Company and *Cornies* are good. Therefore *Mealies*, which are made by the same company, are probably good too." In the area of things having to do with nature or natural laws reasoning by literal analogy attains the highest probability, as the following illustration demonstrates:

If I attempt to argue that a human being is like a machine and that therefore, like a machine, he is not responsible for his actions, there are many who would question the adequacy of my argument. But if I am walking along a desert waste and see two ostriches with their heads in the sand, an argument by analogy will be in order. I examine what I can see of the two birds. They have the same size bodies, the same color feathers in the same pattern, their legs look alike, and their feet have the same number and type of toes. Every comparison I make of the two shows them to be alike. It is then reasonable for me to argue that when they get over their fright and take their heads out of the sand, their heads will look alike.[3]

2. *The figurative analogy*. Reasoning by figurative analogy is used to establish a relationship between two things belonging to different classes. Thus when a sports writer asserts that "Oswego U. will take Jordan College on the gridiron tomorrow the way Grant took Richmond," he expresses a judgment based upon an analogy between things of two quite different classes. It is in the establishment of relationships between things of different classes that argument by analogy is most likely to be specious. Illustrative of this is Carlyle's oft-quoted argument against representative government.

According to Carlyle, this kind of government is bound to fail, since, as he puts it, a ship could never be taken around Cape Horn if the

3. Roger W. Holmes, *The Rhyme of Reason* (New York, 1939), p. 211. By permission of D. Appleton-Century Company, publishers.

captain were obliged to consult the crew every time before changing his course. A generalization is implied, something like, "The sharing of power involves a lack of efficiency." Granted that this holds true on ships, is it also true in government? The argument asserts that the two cases are alike, but it offers no proof that the difference in circumstances is immaterial. The apparent difference, however, is so great that caution is advisable. It may be that the lack of efficiency is due to the sharing of power under certain conditions peculiar to the management of ships.[4]

C. Testing Analogies

Since analogy is one of the most common modes of reasoning as well as one of the most susceptible to misapplication, an argument by analogy should be examined carefully before asserting its validity. In such an examination the following tests are useful.

1. *Is the analogy relevant?* A lack of relevancy to the point at issue or the problem being explored is the most obvious misuse of the argument from analogy. "If my friend Barbara [a fifteen year old] can stay up after nine o'clock why can't I?" demands a ten year old miss. The relevancy of drawing an analogy between a fifteen year old and a ten year old child would obviously be questionable, even assuming that a parent could be found who would accept analogous reasoning in a case like this! A similar instance of the use of an irrelevant analogy is found in the story of the man who spoke in favor of a "big navy." How could it be argued that an increase in naval strength would increase the likelihood of war, he demanded. "Just because New York City acquires additional fire-fighting equipment doesn't mean there'll be an increased number of fires, does it?" While the answer to the gentleman's rhetorical question was obviously in the negative, he had established nothing by it, since there was little relation between the two cases. If an analogy cannot pass the relevancy test it cannot contribute to rational thinking.

2. *Does the analogy disregard fundamental differences?* Often we are presented with an analogy which stresses superficial points of similarity between two things and disregards fundamental differences. Thus we may be asked "How can you expect to reform a criminal? A leopard can't change its spots, you know." Factually

4. B. H. Bode, *An Outline of Logic* (New York, 1910), p. 163. By permission of Henry Holt and Company, publishers.

the assertion is correct, but obvious fundamental differences between the two cases may invalidate the argument. "Resemblance," it has been said, "is only skin deep!" For the person who is inclined to accept all arguments by analogy at their face value it would be well to recall the old story of the three blind men who came upon an elephant for the first time. "It feels like a tree," said one, examining a foreleg. "No," cried another who had seized the elephant's trunk, "it wriggles like a snake." "You are both wrong," said the third blind man who had grasped the elephant's tail, "it's just a piece of rope!"

3. *Does the analogy rest upon a valid generalization?* In many cases an argument based upon an analogy is in reality a generalization based upon a single example. In such cases the analogy must be carefully examined to determine the validity of such a generalization. In the figurative analogy used by Carlyle to attack representative government you will recall that he compared the vote of the people to a crew voting as to which course a ship should take; and on the basis of this example he implied the generalization that "the sharing of power involves a lack of efficiency." Viewing this generalization on the basis of a single example, it is obvious that the analogy breaks down because of the invalidity of the generalization. Another instance is the classical argument intended to prove that Mars is inhabited. Here it is usually pointed out that Mars is similar to the earth in that it revolves around the sun, gets light alternately from the sun and the moon, is subject to the law of gravity, has temperature changes, and an atmosphere. With all of these similarities, it is argued, may Mars and the earth not also be similar in having life? The generalization here is that whatever planet possesses these enumerated features must also have life, based upon the example of the earth. This generalization must be established before the argument by analogy can be considered valid.

4. *Is there a valid causal relationship in the analogy?* In the case of many arguments based upon analogy the analogous situation may be broken down into a cause and an effect, and the relationship thus established must be validated before the analogy can be accepted. For example, an argument may be presented this way:

When economic maladjustment becomes too great for a people to bear they will turn to some form of totalitarian government. Such was

the case in Russia, and such was the case in Germany, and such will be the case in America unless we remedy our present economic situation.

In this the validity of the argument depends upon the relationship asserted between economic maladjustment and the turn to totalitarianism. In response we might ask whether there were not other causes operating which also tended to produce that effect, whether the traditional form of government under which the peoples of Russia and Germany had lived was a factor, and whether any of these possible causes other than economic maladjustment could be found in America.

Another illustration of the implied causal relationship in an argument by analogy is to be found in Patrick Henry's revolutionary declaration that "Caesar had his Brutus, Charles I his Cromwell, and George III . . . may profit by their example." Dissimilar as Caesar, Charles I, and George III may have been in their abilities, habits, and desires, one fundamental similarity did exist in the oppression by which all three governed; and in the cases of Caesar and Charles I this oppression was a cause of revolution. Hence this causal relationship could be incorporated into a valid argument by analogy.

5. *Are the asserted facts of the analogy verifiable?* One of the most valuable shields against the attack of an invalid argument by analogy is knowledge of the facts which underlie that analogy. Similarly, to insure one's own use of valid reasoning, the basic facts of an argument by analogy should be carefully checked before the argument is used. If we are attempting to draw an analogy from the operation of the unicameral legislature in Nebraska in order to establish the probability of its success in Ohio, we must be sure that the asserted facts are correct and are fairly presented in the argument.

6. *Are the conclusions of the argument from analogy supported by other methods of reasoning?* As a general rule, the more support given a conclusion by different methods of reasoning the greater is the probability of its validity. To the end that the greatest probability be established on behalf of an asserted conclusion an argument by analogy should be supported, wherever possible, by other methods of reasoning.

IV. Reasoning by Causal Relationship

A. Definition

Reasoning based upon causal relationship assumes that when any two events are associated, one taking place before the other, and one of them an indispensable and invariable antecedent to the other, the first event is a cause of the second.

The assumption which underlies this conception of causal relationships is that there are no chance happenings in the operation of natural phenomena. It is the assumption that indelibly stamps the work of the scientist in his laboratory: when this particular thing happens something must have caused it. What is that something? This assumption also pertains to human relationships. If the partnership of Doe & Roe is dissolved, if doctors oppose socialized medicine, if Alice Freeland divorces her husband, if George Arnold flunks History 27, and if a union goes on strike there must be a cause (or a complexity of causes) for each of these happenings.

In discussion and debate where we are primarily concerned with public problems and their influence upon the individual citizen and upon society the determination of causes and effects is a matter of major concern. If we are confronted with a problem such as depression, high prices, labor disturbances, antidemocratic propaganda, or crime, we are vitally interested in determining the causes of these problems. If, on the other hand, we are debating the advisability of adopting certain proposed solutions for these public problems, we are just as vitally interested in determining in advance the probable effects of adopting these proposals.

It is often impossible to determine causes and effects with finality. Apparent cause and effect may occur almost simultaneously, there may be a multiplicity of causes, and cause and effect may operate upon each other in such a way as to confuse the entire picture. The purpose of reasoning by causal relationship, then, is not to attempt to "force" a relationship where none exists but only to analyze such relationships as are observed and to establish valid probabilities wherever possible.

B. Testing Causal Relationships

Three specific types of causal relationship are usually recognized: *cause-to-effect*, *effect-to-cause*, and *effect-to-effect*. We will dis-

cuss these three types at some length. But first, in order to make the descriptions clearer as well as to set up a standard for validity, we shall consider methods for testing causal relationships. The following six questions provide bases for this analysis.

1. *Is the asserted causal relationship complete?* That is, can a logical causative relationship be established between the alleged cause and its effect? Can it be demonstrated that the alleged cause actually brought about the effect in question? Most of our popular superstitions break down at this point: there is no way of establishing that finding a four-leaf clover will cause us to have good luck. When, in fields of modified superstitious belief, it is asserted that a certain political party is responsible for "a chicken in every pot, a bathtub in every home, and a car in every garage" a complete causal relationship between the alleged cause and the several effects is difficult to establish! The definition of causal relationship stressed the necessity for the alleged cause being "an indispensable and invariable antecedent" of the effect, and surely chickens, bathtubs, and cars might be standard equipment in every home without the beneficence of any particular political party. From your study of materials and methods of reasoning it must be apparent that this relationship would be, at the most, coincidence.

2. *Is the cause sufficient to produce the asserted effect?* Here we are interested in knowing whether the alleged cause, of itself, is able to bring about the asserted effect, or whether there are other causes which more probably produced it. An examination of everyday maxims will show that most of them are specious in this respect and that they assert nothing more than a possible coincidence. Most of us have had the painful experience of discovering that just because we will to do something we aren't necessarily able to do it, despite the assurance of "Where there's a will there's a way!" Similarly, when we are told that the failure of a *single* banking house brought about the depression, that the maintenance of slums is the *sole* cause of crime, or that sitting in a draft is *certain* to induce pneumonia, we are being presented with an oversimplification of the cause and effect relationship; there must obviously be other allied or concurrent causes. If we accept such contentions, based upon an asserted causal relationship, we are succumbing to the illogical assumption that just because one thing follows another it was caused by the other. Technically this is referred to by logicians

as the fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* or "after this, therefore because of this." Any argument based upon an asserted causal relationship needs to be analyzed carefully for this most common variety of specious reasoning.

3. *Are there other factors in operation which tend to preclude the asserted relationship?* Sometimes, in our intentness upon the establishment of a specific cause and effect argument, we are inclined to overlook the presence of other causative factors which would effectively prevent the operation of that asserted relationship. Thus the application of creosote to a wooden barn will not preserve the barn if termites are already eating at the foundation. Similarly, if we contend that the establishment of a "fair price code" among manufacturers will keep the cost of cigarettes down our calculations may be completely upset by an unforeseen increase in the federal cigarette tax which will tend to maintain prices at the original higher level. In testing the validity of an asserted causal relationship, therefore, it is essential that the possible operation of other causes be investigated.

4. *Are there effects other than the one alleged which may result from the indicated cause?* In examining certain arguments based upon causal relationship we may discover that while the indicated cause may bring about the alleged effect, that same cause may also produce other effects which are undesirable or which may even nullify the desired effect. Thus the discovery of a shorter route to the East across the Isthmus of Panama rather than around the Cape of Good Hope may have seemed alluring to sixteenth-century merchants until it was discovered that both malaria and savages infested the Isthmus. It is possible, on the other hand, that while an indicated cause may seem to produce only an undesirable effect, it may produce other effects sufficiently desirable to offset the first one. Thus while the establishment of a dole system is sometimes claimed to result in a loss of initiative and self-reliance among its beneficiaries, it is also true that the dole may serve to feed people who would otherwise starve. Hence it is important that any asserted causal relationship be examined to see if more than one effect may not be derived from the indicated cause.

5. *Are the asserted facts of the causal relationship verifiable?* As with other methods of reasoning, one of the prerequisites for using or investigating an argument based upon causal relationship is

accurate observation and verification of the alleged facts. If we are asserting a causal relationship between polluted water and typhoid, for example, we must be certain that the bacteria in the water are those which produce typhoid. Even though the asserted causal relationship may appear to be complete (see test no. 1 above) a verification of the observed facts involved may not be possible.

6. *Are the conclusions of the argument from causal relation supported by other methods of reasoning?* In the establishment of an argument based upon causal relation, it is obvious that certain other methods of reasoning may have been employed and these should naturally be checked for validity. If these other modes of reasoning tend to indicate the same conclusion, the probability of the validity of that conclusion is greatly increased.

C. Types of Causal Relationships

As we have already indicated, the argument based upon causal relationship may take any one of three forms of reasoning: (1) *from cause to effect*, (2) *from effect to cause*, or (3) *from effect to effect.*

1. *Cause to effect.* When the argument based upon causal relation takes this form, sometimes called *a priori* reasoning, it sets up a conclusion indicating the probable effect of a specified event or circumstance. Thus we say that if Canada is invaded, she will fight; if we repeal prohibition, bootlegging will cease; if John gets at least 80 on his final exam, he will pass the course; or, if McGuire plays, Pomona will beat Tulsa. In each case we assert that *C* is an indispensable antecedent to *E*, and that if *C* takes place *E* is the inevitable result. The presence of probability as an essential feature of this type of argument is apparent when we find opposing parties insisting that different effects will result from the same cause. In a discussion meeting, for example, one person may establish the hypothesis that if America adopts neutrality legislation she can stay out of war; and another may argue that if neutrality legislation is adopted the action will ultimately result in drawing America into war. Hence we see the need for careful evaluation of the facts contained in the asserted relationship. For testing the cause-to-effect argument the six questions suggested earlier are applicable. Try those tests on the following arguments:

(1) Twenty years ago almost everybody believed that a broken mirror brought seven years of bad luck, a rabbit's foot good luck, and a high forehead indicated unusual mentality. Such has been the increased number of those who enjoy higher education, however, that today almost no one accepts those superstitions.

(2) The Ludlow amendment to the Constitution, proposing that we hold a national referendum on the question of declaring war will mean fewer wars, for it isn't the common people who want war anyway.

2. *Effect to cause.* In this type of argument, based upon causal relation, we are following the exact opposite of our procedure in cause-to-effect argument. Here we are concerned with drawing a conclusion indicating the probable cause of a specified event. The argument, often referred to as *a posteriori* reasoning, usually follows this pattern: "*E* has taken place. Something caused it to take place. That something was probably *C*." Thus we say that if prosperity returns, it will be because of a Republican (or a Democratic) victory at the polls; "This is a fine modern house—Frank Lloyd Wright must have designed it!"; the increased output of the steel mills is probably due to wartime demands; or "Well, the All-Stars lost again. I said they were overtrained." This is a most common form of causal relation argument as it occurs in everyday conversation; it offers a perfect opportunity for the "second guesser" to say "I knew it wouldn't work!" Effect-to-cause argument has even worked its way into popular music: not so long ago we were singing a song the refrain of which went "You must have been a beautiful baby, 'cause baby look at you now!"

From these few examples it must be obvious that causation is a concept which can work both ways and it is largely a matter of individual point of view whether we approach a problem in terms of effect to cause, or cause to effect. Because this is so our original tests for cause-to-effect validity apply equally to effect-to-cause arguments. Try them on these examples:

(1) France has occupied the Ruhr district; what is in the Ruhr district? Coal. Well, then France has occupied the Ruhr district because of the coal.[5]

5. Herr von Cuno, quoted by Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York, 1940), p. 987.

(2) Fifteen years ago a tariff was adopted to protect the manufacturers of glotches, then engaging in a new industry. Since that time the P. J. Oswald Glotch Manufacturing Co. has paid off all of its indebtedness, doubled its earnings, and halved its prices. This unprecedented achievement is due entirely to the protective tariff.

3. *Effect to effect.* When the argument from causal relation is of this type, it actually joins an effect-to-cause argument with a cause-to-effect argument in order to show the relation between two separate effects of the same cause. The conclusion drawn indicates that a specified event or circumstance is related to another specified event or circumstance by virtue of their both having the same cause. Thus the argument is of this sort: "E is the result of C. C is also the cause of E^1. Therefore E and E^1 are related effects of the same cause, C." Thus if we are looking for shelter on a long hunting trip we may see smoke in the distance and say to ourselves, "Humph, there's some smoke coming from somewhere! Must be a fire . . . where there's a fire there's bound to be heat, and I'm for it." Here smoke represents E, and from that we reason the presence of the fire C, and we know that C causes heat, E^1. The reasoning procedure is a similar one when we argue that unemployment is brought about by decreased business activity, and that decreased business activity also leads to a glutted money market—and, therefore, a definite causal relationship exists between unemployment and a glutted money market.

This type of argument may also be tested by the same questions as were applied to the other two forms. Because the real course of the reasoning from effect to cause to effect actually involves two syllogisms it is often helpful to break an effect-to-effect argument down into these syllogisms in order to investigate its validity. In the last example given these syllogisms would be:

Whenever unemployment exists there has been a decrease in business activity.	(effect
There is unemployment today.	to
Therefore there has been a decrease in business activity.	cause)

Whenever there has been a decrease in business activity the money market becomes glutted.	(cause
There is decreased business activity.	to
Therefore the money market will become glutted.	effect)

By adding this new test to those already indicated examine the following arguments for validity:

(1) I'm afraid we'll have to call off the picnic we planned for tomorrow—there's a ring around the moon tonight and that always means rain.

(2) In his campaign for re-election last fall Congressman Conk promised to support any legislation that would help the veterans, and this probably gave him his winning margin of a couple hundred votes. The veterans' bonus dividend bill comes to a vote today and I'm sure we can count on Conk.

D. The Argument from Sign

In concluding our discussion of arguments from causal relation some mention should be made of the argument from sign. Its general character is indicated by its name—whenever two or more events or circumstances invariably accompany each other, the argument from sign assumes that the observed presence of one of them is a sign that the other is also present. Thus the argument is usually phrased, "*X* and *Y* always seem to go together and I can see *X*. Therefore *Y* must be around somewhere." This mode of argument is mentioned here because it frequently is based entirely upon causal relationship, either effect to cause, or effect to effect. Thus we reason that a storm signal means a storm, or that a low thermometer reading means putting alcohol in our car radiator. A more common form of the argument from sign, however, rests upon a simple association of two events or circumstances rather than upon a causal relation between them. Thus we may say that "the team that's ahead on the 1st of August will win the league pennant"; or we may believe that "as Maine goes so goes the nation." In both of these instances the argument from sign is really based upon a generalization—because sometimes the pennant winner has been decided as early as August 1st it is generalized that whenever a team holds first place on that date "it is a sign" that it will still be ahead in October. The usual tests of examples and generalizations are applicable.

E. Using Causal Arguments

The investigation of causal relationships may often be the heart of a discussion meeting or a debate when we are attempting to deter-

mine probable causes for problems and probable effects of proposed solutions. Conditions, policies, beliefs, actions, problems, and solutions are all considered in terms of their causes and effects; and the argument based upon asserted causal relation is, therefore, most commonly employed. Because it is used so frequently, it needs to be examined even more carefully, for we often find that frequent use leads to careless use. What has been said concerning proof and probability may well be reconsidered in this connection for in no other method of reasoning is it more important to maintain this distinction as we explore problems and attempt to examine and evaluate evidence and argument.

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EXERCISES

*1. Prepare an outline of the arguments to be used in developing one aspect of the problem you have selected for intensive study during the semester.

*2. Write a 500-word argumentative statement on the problem you have selected for intensive study during the semester and marginally annotate the forms of argument employed.

3. Bring to class three examples of each of the following types of arguments and be prepared to apply the appropriate tests suggested in this chapter:

(a) Deductive.
(b) Inductive.
(c) Analogy.
(d) Causal relation.

4. Clip from a current newspaper an editorial dealing with a contro-

versial subject and write a brief analysis of it covering these points:

(a) When the appropriate tests are applied does the evidence presented appear to be valid?

(b) What forms of argument are used to support the conclusion reached? Does the editorial rely chiefly upon any one form?

(c) How do the arguments stand up under application of the appropriate tests?

(d) On the basis of the evidence and argument presented in the editorial would you accept its conclusions? Explain.

5. Read a discussion or debate from the list in the Appendix, and evaluate five arguments employed in the discussion.

6. Identify the type of each of the following arguments and test its validity:

(a) On page 959 of *Mein Kampf* Adolf Hitler writes: "The fact of the conclusion of a treaty with Russia embodies the declaration of the next war. Its outcome would be the end of Germany." The first of these statements was proved true in the fall of 1939. It follows that the second of these statements will also be proved true.

(b) John Brown is able and willing to work, but he has no job and can't find one. The government ought to help him and anyone else in the same situation.

(c) "A university is either a kindergarten, a reform school, a club, a political party, an agency of propaganda, or it is a community of scholars devoted to immutable truths. Of course it cannot be any of the former; it must, therefore, be the latter." (President Hutchins, University of Chicago.)

(d) All gangsters are mortal.
All men are mortal.
Therefore, all gangsters are men.

(e) Of course Johnson can't win the election—he's a crook!

(f) Do salamanders live in the water? Fish live in water, and a salamander isn't a fish!

(g) Census records show that for the same age groups the death rate among married persons is lower than among unmarried persons. Doesn't this prove that marriage causes longevity?

(h) "After taking two bottles of Rumdum, I felt better than I had for years. There is no question but that Rumdum has done wonders for me."

(i) A college student, upon learning that a classmate had received a higher grade on an examination, asked him: "Did you use crib notes or did the instructor make an error in grading your paper?"

(j) Students in section 1 of American history used Blank's textbook, while the students in section 2 used Crank's. At the end of the semester the average grades of the students in Section 1 were higher, which proves that Blank's textbook is better than Crank's.

(k) It is perfectly obvious that Communists follow orders from Moscow. If we let Communists hold public office, then, it is just the same as giving Russia a voice in our government.

(l) Between February, 1871, and June, 1940, The Third Republic of France changed its cabinet 106 times, or about once every eight months. This demonstrates the instability of the French people.

(m) "The trouble with talking to people you don't know is that you're bound to meet somebody smart. We were ripe for a defeat when we took on a Japanese gentleman named Koshomino. Mr. Koshomino took us off guard by launching into a defense of the Monroe Doctrine and hoping with the solemnity that only a Japanese can achieve that the United States would defend it at all costs. We shook hands with Mr. Koshomino. 'You think it is a good policy?' he asked. We said we did indeed. 'Then you cannot hold with your countrymen who think it is not good for Japan too?' We shook hands solemnly again with Mr. Koshomino." (W. D., "Any Week," *Collier's*, August 17, 1940.)

(n) "Wendell L. Willkie declares that the New Deal defense program is 'hopelessly inadequate, delayed, and improperly organized.' Since adequate national defense is now and will be for the next four years the most vitally important question before the American people, those six Willkie words on defense should secure for Mr. Willkie every electoral vote of the 48 states of the United States." (Ernest Braesham, "Voice of the People," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 27, 1940.)

(o) A study made in 1937 showed that children living in Los Angeles were almost an inch taller, age for age, than children living in Oakland and San Francisco. Since San Francisco is noted for its cold and foggy weather it has been claimed that the "golden sunshine" of Southern California is responsible for this difference in development. (See Dr. Irving Cutter, "How to Keep Well," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 27, 1940.)

(p) Mr. E. L. Perry, of Lincoln, Nebraska, in the United States Forest Service, recounts a speech he was making in a town in Texas urging the necessity of planting trees in prairie areas. A grizzled old Texan demanded the floor to roar, "Listen to me,

young feller. If God A'mighty had figgered trees'd grow on these here damn plains, He'd done the plantin'!" ("Any Week," *Collier's*, August 31, 1940.)

(q) A business boom in 1941 will either be the result of the benefits of the New Deal, or of the confidence of business in a victorious Republican party.
The Republican party was not victorious.
Therefore a business boom in 1941 must be the result of the benefits of the New Deal.

(r) "Why all this fuss about Moon Mullins pushing the Gumps off the front of the Sporting section?
"If folks will look closely they will see that you have removed 'nothing' from this space and put 'nothing' in that place.
"Nothing from nothing leaves nothing, so why worry?" (A. L. Coleman, "Voice of the People," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 27, 1940.)

(s) "Nobody can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and, certainly, to a kingdom, or estate, a just and honorable war is the true exercise. A civil war, indeed, is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt." (Francis Bacon, *The True Greatness of Kingdoms.*)

(t) If American isolationists aren't fascists, what are they? They refuse to give aid to Great Britain and thereby doom her to defeat, and that is exactly what the fascists are fighting to do, isn't it?

(u) Who says vaccination prevents smallpox? In England it has been reported that more children die from vaccination than from smallpox.

(v) In a speech made just after he took office Adolf Hitler declared that "Of Marxism and the German people, only one can triumph . . ." Obviously the Nazis have triumphed, and just as obviously Marxism can be a thing only of the past.

(w) You claim that there was no need for enacting the conscription bill because there are enough true patriots to volunteer for army service. I grant you that that's all very well in theory—but it won't work in practice!

(x) "Fort Worth, Texas: One of State Representative H. A. (Salty) Hull's opponents—against whom he was running for re-election—called Hull down for using 'ain't' too much in his speeches. To which Hull answered: 'My opponent doesn't like me because I say ain't. I know it ain't proper to say ain't, but I know a lot of

people who don't say ain't who ain't eating, and I know a man who doesn't say ain't who ain't ever going to be state representative!" ("Sideshow," *This Week*, August 26, 1940.)

(y) "I say we have nothing to fear from the German-American Bund and such organizations, because conditions are such in the United States that we have nothing to fear."

(z) It will be objected to "Federal Union" that "war is barbaric; it destroys everything, it creates nothing. This is indisputably true. The same may be said of forest fires. We do not want to fight a forest fire. But when insane, bitter, and vengeful people, as well as careless ones, have started forest fires, how does the neighborhood meet them? In co-operation all together. Foolish indeed would be the neighborhood in which each man stood in front of his own house with his own little garden hose and said, 'I will not fight this fire until it is burning my fence, my trees, my home.'" (Mary Breckinridge, Lexington, Ky., *Herald-Leader*, August 11, 1940.)

CHAPTER X

Exploring the Problem: Fallacies

In our discussion of how individuals think (Chapter IV) we observed that one of the results of emotionalized thinking is that we tend to accept arguments or assertions which are not sound in themselves, or which rely upon inadequate evidence. Arguments of this character have always commanded the attention of logicians who coined the word *fallacies* to describe them. Bishop Whately, for example, referred to a fallacy as "any unsound mode of arguing which appears to demand our conviction, and to be decisive of the question in hand, when in fairness it is not." [1] While we have already paid some attention to evidence (Chapter VIII) and to argument (Chapter IX) and the ways in which they may be combined to provide valid support for a point of view or a conclusion, we need to examine the obverse side of the coin—the ways in which evidence and argument are misused in discussion and debate. These misuses we shall call fallacies.

Traditionally, writers in the field of argumentation have evolved complex classifications of fallacies, and just as traditionally many of them have employed Latin terminology in their labels (to the frequent confusion of their readers). A typical classification of this sort follows:

I. *Fallacies of Hasty Generalization*
   - A. Fallacies of example
   - B. Fallacies of analogy

II. *Fallacies of Causal Relation*
   - A. Exceptional instances
   - B. False cause, *post hoc, ergo propter hoc*
   - C. Insufficient cause
   - D. False comparison

1. Richard Whately, *Elements of Logic* (London, 1869), p. 168.

III. *Fallacies of Begging the Question, petitio principii*
   A. Assuming an unproved premise, *assumptio non probata*
   B. Arguing in a circle, *circulus in probado*

IV. *Fallacies of Ignoring the Question, ignoratio elenchi*
   A. Appeal to prejudice or passion, *argumentum ad populum*
   B. Appeal to ignorance, *argumentum ad ignorantiam*
   C. Appeal to popular belief, *argumentum ad judiciam*
   D. Appeal to reverence, custom and tradition, *argumentum ad veracundiam*
   E. Argument of personalities, *argumentum ad hominem*

The value of this type of treatment suffers, not only because of its complexity but also because it tends to emphasize the classification and the class names rather than the faulty structure of the argument, or the questionable evidence upon which it is built. Here again we need to remind ourselves that argumentation and logic are tools in the hands of the person who would think reflectively and reach conclusions rationally. There is no mystic virtue in being able to announce triumphantly that a fellow member of your discussion group is guilty of "*assumptio non probata!*" What is important is that you be able to recognize his argument as one in which his conclusion rests not upon sound evidence but upon unproved assertions.

We might hear a speaker say:

> The evolutionary theory should be condemned. . . . Look at the spokesman for evolution—Charles Darwin—a man who believes that his ancestors were apes, who openly admitted that he did not believe in God!

It is not enough to say "this argument is inadequate because it is really *argumentum ad hominem*." We must, rather, ask whether there is sufficient and sound evidence to support the speaker's conclusion, and whether the argument itself is consistent and logical. If the evidence is not valid or if the argument is not sound, that fact, clearly and simply explained, will mean more to a lay audience than any technical labeling of the fallacy.

It is obvious, therefore, that the basic tool in any study of fallacies must be an understanding of the nature of valid evidence and

logical argument. The questions suggested as means of testing evidence and argument in Chapters VIII and IX, then, will help determine whether submitted evidence and argument is valid or fallacious. As the first step in learning to recognize fallacies, we should review these test questions. Then we will be ready to examine a classification of fallacies which arranges them functionally, as they will be observed in everyday discussion and debate. Such a classification naturally parallels our earlier discussions of evidence and argument. Hence we will find these general types of fallacies:

I. *Fallacies of Evidence*
   A. Use of inadequate *facts* } *sources of*
   B. Reliance upon unqualified *opinions* } *evidence*
   C. Use of inadequate *statistics* } *presentation of evidence*
   D. Use of unrelated *examples* }

II. *Fallacies of Argument*
   A. Faulty *deduction*
   B. Faulty *induction*
   C. Faulty *analogy*
   D. Faulty *causal relationship*

It is inevitable that certain of these categories will overlap, but an attempt to follow this classification as closely as possible will be helpful in recognizing fallacies in everyday discussion and debate. It should also be noted that under a certain classification, say faulty deduction, there may be several varieties of fallacious argument, although but one or two more common types will be considered. Other varieties should be suggested by a study of the specific tests proposed in Chapters VIII and IX for each type of evidence and argument. Indeed, it may be said that there are at least as many different varieties of fallacies as there are test questions in each case.

I. Fallacies of Evidence

A. Use of Inadequate Facts

This most common type of fallacy is one wherein the facts cited may be accurate but not related to the conclusion in such a way that they establish it. To illustrate the point: a certain cold cream, it is claimed, has been exposed to ultraviolet rays and is therefore

more efficacious in removing wrinkles. While the asserted fact that the cream has been exposed to ultraviolet rays may be true, it may have little or no connection with the conclusion that the cream is therefore more effective in removing wrinkles. Even though the rays may have some effect upon the cream it does not follow that the cream will therefore have any more effect upon wrinkles than a similar cream which has not been exposed to the rays.

After rechecking the tests of facts suggested in Chapter VIII examine the following arguments to determine the adequacy of the observed facts used as evidence:

1. Less than half of the teachers in the United States are married, according to a recent survey. Which shows what education does for women!

2. Earl Browder was indicted for obtaining a United States passport under an assumed name, and it has been established that other Communists have done the same thing. Resorting to subterfuges like this certainly stamps Communists as men of low ideals!

B. Reliance upon Unqualified Opinions

This type of fallacy may be introduced into a discussion in two ways, either by *citing an alleged authority who is not qualified to testify as to the validity* of certain asserted facts, or by *citing an authority who is not qualified to interpret* certain facts whose validity has already been attested.

As an example of this first type, consider two statements made in a debate on the proposal to approve Japan's policy in the Far East. An affirmative speaker asserted that George Bronson Rea had declared the Lytton Commission (whose report condemned Japan's policy) to have been guided in its findings by agents of the Chinese government, to have relied upon false testimony, and to have ignored valid testimony. Therefore, he concluded, the report of the Lytton Commission was not worthy of consideration. In reply a negative speaker pointed out Mr. Rea's lack of qualification to speak as an authority on the validity of the asserted facts:

Who is George Bronson Rea? Mr. George Bronson Rea is an American, who was hired by the Government of Manchukuo to act as its publicity director and its press agent, and if he has been able to convince the gentlemen of the Affirmative that the Lytton Report is biased

and prejudiced he has done a pretty good piece of press agent work. And he ought to do a good job because Mr. Rea is being paid seventy thousand Manchurian yen, or approximately $35,000 a year . . . as the publicity director and chief press agent for Manchukuo, the puppet state of Japan.

We may also find a fallacy in an argument which presents an authority not qualified to interpret certain facts. A physicist, for example, is qualified to interpret a certain formula for the manufacture of high explosives in terms of the damage they would do if dropped from airplanes on enemy cities. But that same physicist is hardly qualified to interpret the use of these explosives as utensils of war in terms of the moral justification for declaring war against any given country.

To determine other ways in which the use of authority may be fallacious, re-examine the tests of authority given in Chapter VIII before evaluating these examples:

(1) My neighbor, Mr. Jones, who is president of the First National Bank, drives a Ford, and if a Ford is good enough for him that should satisfy you that it's the best car on the market!

(2) "Only the victory of the Republican party this fall will return prosperity to America and return America to the ideals of its founders," asserted Lyman Haskell, chairman of the state Republican committee, in an interview this morning.

C. Use of Inadequate Statistics

The most frequent form of fallacious arguments based upon evidence presented statistically is that in which the data do not provide valid support for the conclusion. In a discussion of "un-American activities" one speaker asserted that "millions of Americans must belong to subversive groups, for figures show that there are over 800 fascist or semifascist organizations in this country, to say nothing of the Communist party." He was no doubt correct in citing the figure of 800 groups, but the relationship of his statistics to his conclusion that "millions of Americans" must be members of these groups was tenuous. His statistics proved nothing about the number of people belonging to the 800 groups.

Another type of misuse of statistical information combines valid data with a specious causal relationship under the assumption, prob-

ably, that a display of figures will dispel any doubt as to the validity of the argument. Thus a village postmaster said: "Prosperous town? I should say so! Our post-office receipts are 40 per cent higher this year than last." The postmaster, presumably, would have accurate information on post-office receipts. But the use of his statistics ignored the fact that they might not be related to his conclusion. We should ask whether some other reason than "prosperity" might not have accounted for those figures. Perhaps his village was caught up in a "chain-letter" craze, or perhaps someone had urged his radio listeners to "write a letter to your congressman." The old campus wisecrack illustrates this type of fallacy perfectly:

1ST STUDENT: "You must be an awful grind; I see you've got a dozen books in your arms."

2ND STUDENT: "Sure—and I've got a dozen nickels in my pocket. But that doesn't prove I'm a street-car conductor, does it?"

This type of fallacy may take many other forms, as a review of the tests of statistics in Chapter VIII will indicate. After such a review examine the following fallacious arguments which rely upon inadequate statistics:

(1) Since repeal the American people have spent more than nine billion dollars for legal liquor. They have spent at least an equal amount for illegal liquor, according to government estimates. Crime directly traceable to liquor has cost an additional twenty-four billion. Thus we have spent forty-two billion dollars, without counting the increased cost of prisons and asylums, both of which have added greatly to their volume of business since repeal and because of it. With that forty-two billions, fourteen million houses costing three thousand dollars each could have been built, housing seventy million people. And yet there are those who try to hold the building trades or the New Deal responsible for the fact that the desired housing boom doesn't get under way.[2]

(2) Between the years 1794 and 1912 the United States entered into 83 arbitration treaties with other nations, and in not one single case were we ever discriminated against. Thus figures show that our relations with other nations have been marked by fair play. Why should we then not join the League of Nations?

2. "Alcohol Education," The *Oberlin (Ohio) News-Tribune*, Oct. 3, 1939, p. 2.

D. Use of Unrelated Examples

Fallacies in the use of examples usually take the form of illustrating one idea with another not sufficiently related, or of using one concrete instance which is not truly representative of its general class. That a generalization based upon such a fallacious use of an example may be made so vivid and graphic has earned it the title of "Glittering Generality." "Look at Father Coughlin's attacks on Jewry," it has been said, "doesn't that demonstrate the anti-Semitic prejudice of Catholics?" Such an argument is patently fallacious in its presumption that a vast religious group may be judged on the basis of a single atypical member, as well as in the fact that it obviously ignores the large number of prominent Catholics who have disavowed the Detroit priest. Similar fallacies may be seen whenever we speak of the "sly Japanese," the "avaricious Jew," or the "barbaric Hun."

Note this analysis of the expansion by conquest of Adolf Hitler's Third Reich: "Naturally I agree that Hitler's methods are hardly above reproach, but we need to remember that force must be resorted to if all reasonable approaches are closed. Charlemagne, Frederick the Great, and Lenin all had to build unity by means of force." This use of examples is, of course, the basis for an implied argument by analogy. In every such use of examples the entire argument must be checked carefully for possible fallacies. The tests of examples suggested in Chapter VIII will be helpful. After reviewing them examine these uses of examples in presenting evidence:

(1) Is it so bad, then, to be misunderstood? Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh. To be great is to be misunderstood.[3]

(2) The Berlin correspondent of *Aftenposten*, Oslo, states in the course of a long report: "If England now desires to continue the war, she does so solely upon the grounds of prestige. England asserts that she desires to wage war against the National Socialist Government of Germany, and not against the German people, but rather for their benefit. What would the British say if foreign countries should preach

3. From Emerson's *Essay on Self-Reliance.*

a war against the British Royal Family and Parliament, out of love for the English people?"[4]

E. Guarding against Fallacies of Evidence

In protecting ourselves against arguments involving fallacies of evidence it is important, first, to determine whether the evidence itself is valid. Secondly, we must examine the relation of that evidence to the argument to determine whether it is relevant. Finally we must remember that if the conclusion set forth in an argument is desirable, if we want to believe it, we are inclined to scrutinize the evidence supporting it much less closely. In the discussion of highly controversial issues, then, it is imperative that we examine every argument and the evidence upon which it is based to guard ourselves against the acceptance of a fallacy of evidence.

II. Fallacies of Argument

A. Faulty Deduction

The argument containing a faulty deduction is usually based upon a false correlation of a general law and a specific instance which that law is presumed to cover. Thus, in an editorial concerning the appointment of a certain individual to a position on the Interstate Commerce Commission it was asserted that Communists believe in the nationalization of the railroads and that because the appointee believed in the nationalization of railroads he was, therefore, a Communist. While the general law may be accurate—that Communists believe in the nationalization of railroads—it may not apply to the specific individual in question since it is quite possible for persons who are not Communists to hold the same belief.

The best procedure, in examining an argument for a possible fallacy of deduction, is to throw the argument into a syllogism, and then to apply the rules for a valid syllogism enumerated in Chapter IX. Using this technique with the argument just cited we find this syllogism:

All Communists believe in the nationalization of railroads.
The proposed appointee believes in the nationalization of railroads.
Therefore the proposed appointee is a Communist.

4. *News from Germany*, No. 20, Oct., 1939, p. 11.

We immediately perceive that the minor premise fails to place the proposed appointee within the class described in the major premise; hence the conclusion is not valid. It could be otherwise only if the major premise stated that "*Only* Communists believe . . ."

After reviewing the rules for the three types of syllogisms—categorical, hypothetical, and disjunctive—examine the following deductive arguments for fallacies:

(1) In response to newspaper criticisms for failure to purchase baseball player Dominic DiMaggio for the Cleveland Indians, Indian vice-president Cy Slapnicka compared Dominic with his brother big-leaguers, Vince and Joe, and then concluded: "Our report on Dominic was that he resembled Vince more than Joe, and that he had Vince's weakness against curve ball pitching. And besides, whoever heard of two ball players like Joe DiMaggio coming in one family?" [5]

(2) The recent obstruction by the city council of the mayor's plan to reduce municipal expenditures is proof that the present city government should be replaced by a city manager.

B. Faulty Induction

Faulty induction, often known as false generalization, is a conclusion concerning a whole class based upon an examination of certain selected representatives of that class. For example, one might argue that imperialistic ambitions were responsible for Italy's invasion of Ethiopia, for Japan's invasion of China, and for Germany's seizure of Sudetenland: therefore, *all* wars are caused by imperialistic ambitions. The error is apparent; it might be pointed out that the War of 1812 was not the direct result of imperialist dreams, nor was the war in 1815 against Tripoli. One investigator, in fact, has listed 256 causes of war other than imperialistic ambitions, evidence which would contradict the conclusion that imperialistic ambition causes *all* wars.

While in this illustration the generalization was based upon too few examples, it should be observed that an induction which does not examine *all* possible instances is sometimes acceptable. Even in such cases the generalized conclusion reached must meet certain tests of reasonable accuracy. To review these tests see Chapter VIII and the discussion of logical induction in Chapter IX. Then examine the following inductive arguments for fallacious reasoning:

5. *Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer*, Nov. 28, 1939, p. 18.

(1) For more than twenty years the League of Nations has been in existence as an organization designed to perpetuate peace and prevent aggression. Yet in that time Japan has twice invaded China, Italy has seized Ethiopia and Albania, and Germany has destroyed one free state after another. Can there be any question as to the failure of the league principle?

(2) Although cruel persecution of German-born Jews has been notorious since 1933, particularly in the loss of their citizenship, nevertheless until last week the Nazi purge was concerned chiefly with foreign-born Jews. German-citizen Jews were not molested officially in the conduct of their business. The property of German-citizen Jews was not confiscated by the government although a few synagogues and stores were destroyed by mob violence. The children of German-citizen Jews were permitted to attend public schools with other children. The German-citizen Jewish bankers pursued their business as usual. The German-citizen Rabbis were permitted the practice of their rites, although recently some of their synagogues have been raided. . . .[6]

C. Faulty Analogy

We must distinguish between the fallacious argument based upon a faulty analogy and the *use of unrelated examples* by recalling that in a literal analogy it is assumed that two objects which are being compared are *exactly alike* in certain unexamined aspects because they are *exactly alike* in certain examined aspects. The fallacy may creep in because the two objects are not exactly alike in the examined respects, or because they obviously cannot be alike in the unexamined respects.

In an intercollegiate debate one speaker was urging that the National Labor Relations Board be empowered to enforce compulsory arbitration in labor disputes. "A similar plan was adopted in Australia," he said, "where prevailing labor conditions are the same as in the United States, and it proved successful there. This fact should certainly argue for the successful operation of such a plan here." An examination of this alleged analogous relationship, however, will indicate that the *differences* between the United States and Australia are far greater than their *similarities*—Australia is primarily an agricultural country, Australian labor unions are incorporated and have no jurisdictional disputes, etc. As an *example*

6. Father Charles F. Coughlin in a speech of November 20, 1938, reported in *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, edited by Alfred McClung & Elizabeth Briant Lee (New York, 1939), p. 57.

of how compulsory arbitration has worked elsewhere the reference to Australia may be valuable evidence, but as an *analogy* the reference to Australia is unsound argument.

The important considerations in analyzing an alleged analogy are indicated by the test questions in Chapter IX. After re-examining these, check the following analogies for possible fallacies:

(1) A despotism may almost be defined as a tired democracy. As fatigue falls on a community, the citizens are less inclined for that eternal vigilance which has truly been called the price of liberty, and they prefer to arm only one single individual to watch the city while they sleep. (G. K. Chesterton, *Everlasting Man.*)

(2) Of course the federal government could run the railroads. Doesn't it do a good job of running the post offices and the inland waterways?

D. Faulty Causal Relationship

This fairly common type of fallacy is based upon mistaken relationships between causes and effects. Because one thing occurs *after* another or *with* another we infer that it occurs *because* of the other. Most common of this type is the everyday adage or superstition. "A bad dress rehearsal," someone says, "makes a good performance." Because sometimes a good performance does follow a bad dress rehearsal there is not sufficient reason to believe that a bad dress rehearsal *causes* a good performance. Here is an obvious example of this variety of false reasoning:

The President of the United States elected in 1840 (Harrison) died in office. So did the Presidents elected in 1860 (Lincoln), in 1880 (Garfield), in 1900 (McKinley), and in 1920 (Harding). Therefore the President elected in 1940 and in all even-numbered decades thereafter will die in office.

While the evidence of the past eighty years might indicate such an assumption the argument is specious since there was no cause leading to the deaths of these Presidents which might be expected to kill those elected in even-numbered decades.

In debating the desirability of the city-manager form of government one team reasoned: "In 1926 the city of Cincinnati adopted the city-manager form of government and ever since Cincinnati has had a balanced budget." There may have been some truth in

the claim, but the assertion was insufficient to prove it as one of the opposing debaters demonstrated:

> You assume that the city-manager form of government leads to balanced budgets because that happened to be the coincidental result in Cincinnati. But there have been other city managers who did not provide balanced budgets. And there have been other balanced budgets in cities without managers. How do you explain those circumstances in terms of cause and effect?

The procedure for testing asserted causal relations has been suggested in Chapter IX. On the basis of these tests, analyze the following arguments for fallacies:

(1) Is it because of poverty that you get sick? There is a direct relationship between poverty and living conditions. There is a probable relationship between living conditions and disease. Therefore there can only be an indirect relationship between poverty and disease. Poverty of itself does not cause disease. (The Rev. Alfonse M. Schwitalia, dean of the St. Louis University Medical School.)

(2) When the first telephone line was put in for King Ibn Saud in Arabia, Moslem religious leaders protested against such innovations and works of the Devil from the land of the Infidel. Ibn Saud listened to their complaint, and gave judgment: "If the telephone is really a work of the Devil, the holy words of the Koran will not pass over it; if the holy words do pass over it, it assuredly cannot be the work of the Devil. So we will appoint two mullahs, one to sit in the Palace and one in the telephone exchange, and they are to take turns reading a passage from the Holy Book, and we will see." By this test the religious leaders were convinced. (F. Barrows Colton in *The National Geographic Magazine.*)

E. Guarding against Fallacies of Argument

As a safeguard against the acceptance of fallacious arguments (even though the evidence upon which they are based may be valid) we need, first, to apply the tests of logical consistency applicable to deductive and inductive reasoning, analogies, and causal relationships. Secondly, we must examine the evidence upon which the argument is based to determine both its relevancy and its validity. Finally, as with analyses of evidence, we must take into account the fact that we tend to believe what we want to believe, and thus our emotionalized thinking may tend to interfere with our logical analysis of argument.

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EXERCISES

*1. Find three fallacies which you have encountered in your reading on the problem you have selected for intensive study during the semester; state them, and explain why they are fallacious.

2. Read a printed transcript of a discussion, from the list in the Appendix, and explain any fallacies presented in the discussion.

3. From books, articles, advertisements, or editorials you have recently read find examples of three different types of fallacies and write a brief analysis explaining each one. Indicate the exact source of the examples and include a written copy or a clipping of each one.

4. The following statements have been selected from current newspapers, magazines, speeches, books, and radio broadcasts. Test each one for a fallacy of evidence or argument, classify it, and judge its validity.

(a) "You look prosperous, Bill."
"Yes, and I feel prosperous. . . . an Aroma cigar is a prosperity smoke and it's only 5¢." (From a newspaper advertisement.)

(b) "Tasty tea! The name itself tells you how good it is!" (From a radio commercial announcement.)

(c) "I'm interested in what is good for the masses. If this is good for the masses I'm for it, and I know it is good for the masses." (Wisconsin Governor Julius P. Heil, testifying at assembly committee hearing in favor of Thomson highway bill.)

(d) "We are not members of the lunatic fringe because crazy people don't organize." (John H. Weir, chairman of the Indianapolis Convention of Townsendites.)

(e) "It is because we want this new cold tablet to be available to everyone that we have made the price only fifteen cents a box." (From a radio commercial announcement.)

(f) "What right have Americans to object to Japan's exploitation of China? Didn't the United States do the same thing in Nicaragua?" (From an intercollegiate debate.)

(g) "The Jews are responsible for wars and revolutions. There have been wars and revolutions. Therefore the Jews have been responsible for them." (Typical argument based upon the so-called *Protocols of Zion.*)

(h) "A Massachusetts child-labor law can be enforced, for Massachusetts is no different from Iowa and the Iowa child-labor law is being enforced."

(i) "All who believe in popular rule are progressive.
"Congressman Jones believes in popular rule.
"Therefore Congressman Jones is a Progressive."

(j) "The Socialist Party had the smallest campaign fund in the last presidential election; that was why they got the smallest vote."

(k) "When I hear Congressional debates on our foreign policy I am reminded of the story of the Irishman who said: 'Sure, we're neutral, but who are we neutral against?'"

(l) "Question: What were the Japanese troops doing in China just before the fighting began?
"Answer: They were there just as the troops of America and other powers were there—to provide protection for foreigners amid the turmoil and dangers to which life in China is subject." (From *What is the Fighting About?* published by the California Committee of Pacific Friendship.)

(m) "In the New York *Tribune* for February 22, 1932, will be found credible figures showing that in 3,415 years the world has been blessed with about 8,000 peace treaties, 238 years of peace, and 3,153 of war. This demonstrates that our world is one of war and not of peace, and we might as well resign ourselves to what the future is bound to bring." (A student speaker on problems of peace machinery.)

(n) "Whether we like to admit it or not, the people of Nevada are more law-abiding than our people of New York state. Nevada is twice the area of New York, and yet averages only four murders a year, while New York has more than four hundred in the same period."

(o) "To succeed in politics you can be a great moral enthusiast, like Savonarola or Wilson, or you can be a cold-blooded realist, like Lenin, but you cannot be a sentimentalist." (Jay Franklin.)

(p) "Meaning of the Zodiacal Signs: Taurus—Bull—Neck. April 23 to May 23. Positive, morose, and good students. Excellent

memories, strong likes and dislikes. Inclined to diseases of the throat. Handsome, rather large frame, good complexion, and animal magnetism. Congenial with Sagittarius, Libra, Virgo, Scorpio, Cancer and Leo. Root crops of quick growth will be good when planted in this sign. These crops should be planted in the old or decreasing light of the moon to produce the best yield." (*Dr. Miles Almanac.*)

CHAPTER XI

Examining Suggested Solutions

As we now look back over our thinking about a problem we see, first of all, that we have carefully located and defined it. Secondly, we have made a complete and careful exploration of the problem —drawing up a preliminary analysis, discovering the evidence, and evaluating the argument. We should feel reasonably sure that we have honestly and conscientiously explored every aspect of the problem, leaving no evidence undiscovered and no argument unweighed.

Our next step is to make a rough organization of all of our findings that we may see the possible solutions which they suggest. This organization may be effected by asking these three general questions: (1) What is the exact status of the problem as redefined by the evidence and argument? (2) What now appear to be the main issues of controversy in the problem? (3) What possible solutions are suggested by the whole body of evidence and argument?

I. What Is the Exact Status of the Problem?

In beginning our examination of suggested solutions with a reexamination of the problem itself we have an opportunity to check, and perhaps to modify, our earlier notions of the problem. To determine its present status, we may employ again the series of questions used when we first attempted to isolate the specific problem.[1]

A. What Type of Problem Is It?

Whether it is (a) a problem for discussion or for debate, or (b) a problem of fact, belief, or policy, should be obvious at this point. If, indeed, it is not a question for discussion we would not be ex-

1. See Chapter V, "Locating and Defining the Problem."

amining suggested solutions, since the question for debate usually admits of only a "yes" or a "no" response to one given solution. And if it is not a question of policy, but rather one of fact, we should have by now ascertained the fact in question and have no need of examining suggested solutions.

B. In What General Class Does the Problem Belong?

It may be that, at the outset of our study, we presumed a given problem to be in the general class of those with an economic basis, but complete exploration may lead to the conclusion that it is really in the general class of problems whose basis is sociological. This new classification may well have become apparent in our earlier exploration, but it should be specifically noted here for its importance in considering possible solutions.

C. What Are the General Assumptions upon Which the Class Rests?

The next step should be to re-examine the general assumptions which underlie the broad classification into which our specific problem falls. Here again, our finding may be the same as in our earlier location and definition of the problem, but, with the discovery of new evidence and argument, it is more probable that our conception of the underlying assumptions will be changed, and this knowledge is an important factor in examining suggested solutions. If we have been investigating the problem of medical care for persons financially unable to afford it, we may have decided, in our original location and definition of the problem, that a basic assumption is the *liberty* of the individual to choose his own doctor. After a more complete examination of all the evidence and argument, however, we may conclude that an even more basic assumption is the desire for *security* and freedom from worry about ill health. With this determination that security, rather than liberty, is a general assumption upon which problems in this class rest our examination of suggested solutions will become more objective and practical.

D. Is It a Single Problem?

Here we are likely to discover the greatest divergence between conclusions at the time of the initial location of the problem and

those reached after exploring the evidence and argument bearing upon it. Too often we begin our research under the assumption that the problem is single, unique, and unrelated to others. "We can consume all that this nation can produce. It's *simply* a matter of price adjustment!" says a radio commentator. But any economist will tell him that the matter of price adjustments is neither a simple nor an isolated problem; its complications and ramifications inevitably entangle it with myriad others. Only careful exploration can reveal whether the problem is a single one, and after completing that exploration it is essential to re-examine this fundamental question.

E. If It Is Not a Single Problem What Are Its Relationships with Other Problems?

If our re-examination of the last question reveals that our problem is not a single one, as once may have been supposed, we need to review carefully our assembled evidence and argument to determine its relationships with other problems. What are its limits? In what specific ways is it associated with other problems? What does it have in common with the related problems? What effect will its solutions have upon related problems?

By thus re-examining our original location and definition of the problem, we will have a better understanding of the significance of our assembled evidence and argument. We shall be able to see more clearly the main points of controversy and thus be better prepared to examine suggested solutions.

II. What Now Appear to Be the Main Issues of Controversy?

In making our preliminary analysis we inquired "What seem to be the main controversial issues?" [2] The answer to this query provided us with a preliminary orientation. By now, however, we have collected the evidence and examined the arguments pertaining to the problem, and this new fund of information may alter our original conclusions. Some of the things we thought were main issues of controversy may appear insignificant in the light of the facts we now possess. Or, those facts may have brought into focus other

2. See Chapter VII, "Exploring the Problem: Preliminary Analysis."

points which we did not earlier deem controversial. To discover whether either of those conditions has come about, we may well apply again our original queries designed to bring out the vital and controversial issues in the problem.

A. Applying Standard Inquiries

1. Is there a need for a change from the status quo?
2. What are the proposed solutions for the problem?
3. Will any of the proposed solutions meet the need?
4. Are the proposed solutions practicable?
5. Are the proposed solutions desirable?
6. Will their advantages offset their possible disadvantages?

An analysis of the evidence and argument, made in terms of these questions, should give a clear picture of the main issues of controversy. These main issues, in their turn, will provide a clear and comprehensive basis for choosing the best solution.

B. Principles Governing the Selection of Issues

The number and exact nature of these issues will vary. Five general principles, however, ought to be observed: (1) The points at issue should be vital. (2) They should be controversial in the sense that those advocating different solutions for the problem have different points of view upon them. (3) They should not refer to questions upon which there is agreement, or to questions which are irrelevant or unimportant. (4) They should be phrased in question form so that those who do not agree may make differing answers and yet be recognized as talking about the same aspect of the problem. (5) They should be phrased as clearly and precisely as possible.

III. What Possible Solutions Are Suggested by the Whole Body of Evidence and Argument?

The final step is to discover the possible solutions to the problem indicated by the whole body of evidence and argument. A number of different solutions may, in the minds of different individuals, be inferred from the same body of evidence and argument. Each individual may have followed completely and conscientiously the steps in the process of reflective thinking and yet come to a differ-

ent conclusion. The reason may be that the several individuals are impressed by different facts, or that they place greatest reliance upon different authorities. For it is not only *knowing* all of the available evidence and argument that is important in arriving at solutions, but also the *interpreting* or *evaluating* of that evidence and argument.

A. Three Types of Suggested Solutions

These solutions may be of different sorts—(1) they may be similar with variations only in minor respects, (2) they may be completely unrelated yet reconcilable, or (3) they may be mutually antagonistic. Let us consider an example of each sort.

1. Five college students recently held a symposium upon the question "How can we best insure the public health?" The solutions proposed were similar in that they were all predicated upon the notion that "the government" had to assume the responsibility of maintaining a high standard of public health. Two of the speakers advocated systems of socialized medical service, one by the federal government and the other by state governments. Two other speakers urged systems of health insurance, one suggesting that the federal government assume the responsibility, while the other felt that the state governments should do the job. The fifth speaker advocated a scheme of socialized medical service to be financed by the federal government, combined with health insurance to be financed jointly by the federal and state governments!

2. In a similar discussion three students spoke on this question: "What changes should be made in the system of higher education offered by the American liberal arts college?" While each student offered a different proposal they were not irreconcilable. One urged the maintenance of the present system; another suggested the adoption of a plan of education similar to the "Chicago Plan" which might be elected by able students in their last two years; while a third student proposed maintaining the traditional liberal arts college and establishing a two-year, no degree, college whose objective would be "general culture" rather than training in the liberal arts.

3. An intercollegiate student symposium illustrates the third type of suggested solutions—those which are mutually antagonistic. The question was "How may we best provide lasting economic

prosperity for the United States?" One student urged a *laissez faire* policy on the part of the federal government; a second advocated the establishment of a socialist system; a third proposed reviving the NRA; and a fourth suggested the adoption of the economic principles of a fascist, or corporate, state.

B. A Final Rechecking

When the discussion of any problem reaches the stage of examining suggested solutions it is imperative that (1) all solutions be proposed in the light of the whole body of evidence and argument, (2) that no solution suggested by that evidence and argument be overlooked, and (3) that each suggested solution be given a fair and objective examination. Only by such an approach will the technique of discussion and debate serve to implement the process of reflective thinking in the solution of public problems.

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EXERCISES

*1. Prepare an outline of the problem you selected for intensive study during the semester indicating (a) the exact status of the problem, (b) the main points of controversy, (c) the possible solutions.

2. Listen to, or read a transcript from the list in the Appendix, of a Town Meeting of the Air broadcast in which several speakers propose different solutions for a given problem. Criticize the discussion in respect to such points as:

(a) apparent understanding of the exact status of the problem;
(b) agreement among the speakers on the main issues of controversy;
(c) the presentation of all points of view or all possible solutions;
(d) the types and amount of evidence employed.

3. Outline a plan for a symposium on three different problems you have investigated in this class.

4. Prepare an eight-minute speech offering one possible solution for one of the problems you have investigated in this class.

5. In terms of a specific problem now prominent on your campus or in your town devise a series of tests to be applied to suggested solutions in order to determine their respective merits.

6. Select a local problem for observation on these points: What are the main issues of controversy? Do those advocating different solutions agree on the main issues of controversy? Can you explain this agreement or lack of it?

CHAPTER XII

Choosing the Best Solution

We have come a long way since we began our investigation of a problem. At the start, we had perhaps only a general awareness of the problem. As we pursued our investigation, we have located and defined that problem; we have explored it, discovering the evidence and argument bearing upon it; and we have considered the various solutions which that assembled evidence and argument have suggested. To complete our study we need only to choose what seems the best solution.

So far the procedures have been largely objective; we have gathered *all* of the evidence and argument bearing upon our problem without shaping it to support any predetermined solution. It might be assumed that the selection of a final solution would be a subjective task. This is not necessarily true; we can make the choice of a solution as rationally and objectively as we assembled evidence and argument. We will discuss the final step of choosing the best solution in terms of three separate and sequential tasks: (1) selecting a solution, (2) analyzing the solution, and (3) making the brief.

I. Selecting a Solution

Let us assume that, for a given problem, we have three suggested solutions. On the basis of the assembled evidence and argument, one solution appears to be the best, and so we proceed to test that solution first. This does not bar the other two from consideration; we will want to test them, too, to get an objective basis for the selection of the best of the three. The first and fairly subjective choice is, therefore, only a means of determining the order in which

the solutions will be tested. Four test questions may now be applied to each solution: (1) is it a possible solution? (2) does it meet the minimum essentials of any acceptable solution? (3) does it solve, or make substantial progress toward the solution of, the problem? (4) will the solution create new problems?

A. Is It a Possible Solution?

Here we are not concerned with the probable efficacy of the solution in meeting the problem. We are concerned, first of all, with its applicability—with whether it can be put into practice. Assume that living accommodations on your college campus are inadequate, and that it has been proposed that new dormitories be built. When we ask ourselves whether that is a possible solution, we would say that of course it is, if we can afford it. But being a possible solution in the sense of being capable of immediate application is another matter if there are no funds available. Hence we conclude that it is not a possible solution in the immediate situation, and look about for another. This does not mean that the proposed solution will be forever impossible, or that it would not be the most satisfactory, but only that it cannot be immediately applied.

A second aspect of the relative possibility of a solution is its practicability. Shortly before the Civil War the members of a radical abolitionist party were popularly termed "Barnburners" because, it was said, they were like the Pennsylvania Dutchman who would burn down his barn in order to rid it of rats—they would willingly have destroyed the Union in order to be rid of slavery. With the "Barnburners," as with their prototype, the solution was more objectionable than the problem. In the sense that it was not practicable it was not possible.

B. Does It Include the Minimum Essentials of Any Acceptable Solution?

In Chapter VII we discussed the desirability of establishing, during the period of preliminary analysis, a set of essential factors to be included in any acceptable solution. Now, in testing the solution which seems best, we see the value of that step. As a tentative basis for scrutinizing the proposed solution these minimum essentials serve as standards of evaluation and judgment. We ask whether each is included or accounted for in the proposed solution. If any

are not so present, we must take the further step of inquiring whether our exploration of the problem has indicated that they are unsound, impossible, or unimportant.

We might have set up, for example, these minimum essentials for any acceptable solution of the problem of unemployment: (a) those who are unable to obtain employment must not be permitted to go hungry or homeless; (b) caring for these people must be done by those agencies which are most able and most efficient; (c) the cost of caring for these people must be reasonable; (d) the program must look toward future re-employment. Now, in testing a proposed solution such as a federally financed and administered program of self-liquidating public works, one objective approach to an evaluation of that solution would be to scrutinize it for its inclusion of each of these minimum essentials.

C. Does It Solve, or Make Substantial Progress Toward the Solution of, the Problem?

This self-explanatory test question must be answered affirmatively. The problem of a capital shortage obviously cannot be solved by raising interest rates, nor can the problem of unemployment be solved by curtailing industrial production.

There are other situations, however, where the relationship between the problem and the proposed solution is not so apparent. Often a proposed solution which does not completely solve a problem is discarded as without merit, although it might make substantial progress toward meeting the situation. The broad problem of unemployment obviously cannot be entirely solved by the establishment of new industries, but the development of the air-conditioning industry has made some progress toward taking up the slack in employment. Just as debate propositions which can be conclusively *proved* are rare, so *perfect* solutions for most of our everyday problems are seldom discovered. We may establish only a *probability* in debate, and so we may find only solutions which make *reasonable progress toward* a final solution.

D. Will the Solution Create Other Problems?

A final test of a proposed solution concerns its possible creation of new problems, or its possible adverse effect upon related problems. When one head of Hydra, the mythical water serpent, was

struck off two new ones grew in its place. Thus the enactment of a high tax on luxury products in order to meet the problem of inadequate government revenue may result in decreased sales, curtailed production, unemployment, and even in complete collapse of the industry. If there is a possibility of such a creation of new problems in place of the old the proposed solution must be regarded with suspicion. However, closer scrutiny of such a proposal may reveal one of two possible mitigating circumstances: (1) the advantages of the solution may offset the disadvantages of the newly created problems, or (2) the newly created problems may be such that they can be resolved by an extension of the proposed solution. Let us consider an example of each of these possibilities.

(1) The city of Rockville may have a serious problem of inadequate transportation facilities in the face of rapid industrial growth. After discussion, the city council may decide that the best solution is the establishment of a municipally owned and operated system of busses. One member, in testing this proposed solution, may object that the city cannot purchase the necessary busses without considerably increasing its indebtedness, and that anyway the transportation business ought to be in private rather than public hands. Other members of the council may point out to him, however, that adequate transportation facilities may encourage further industrial growth and thus make a larger public debt relatively less burdensome. They may also point out that although the transportation deficiency has existed for some time there are no signs of private entrepreneurs who wish to enter the field. Thus, they could reasonably assert that the advantages of an adequate system of transportation will outweigh the disadvantages of these new problems.

(2) In another case, it might be said that the problem of underpaid factory workers in the North was solved by the growth of union organization. This very fact may have contributed to the rise of a new problem, the migration of large industries to the South where labor is less well organized. From the standpoint of the labor unions, this new problem may be met by extending the original solution and beginning to organize Southern labor.

In these two illustrations, then, we see the possibility that the creation of a new problem as a result of a particular solution for

an old one is not necessarily a condemnation of that solution. It must never be assumed, however, that a given solution will not create new problems, or that those new problems may not make the solution completely undesirable.

We have now considered four general tests which should be applied to *every* proposed solution of a problem. Only when that task is completed is it possible to say "*this* is the best solution." If several solutions have been proposed, it is highly probable that the status of no two will be alike in respect to these tests. One may seem most possible of application in the immediate situation. Another may include or account for most of the minimum essentials of any acceptable solution. Another may make the greatest substantial progress toward a genuine solution of the problem. And still another may be least objectionable because it creates the least new problems. The result of applying each test will most probably be a gradation of the virtues of the several solutions rather than a clear-cut distinction.

One method for re-evaluating a proposed solution is to apply the following tests; they are phrased in terms of testing a belief resulting from the acceptance of a proposed solution.

(1) *Clarity.* A good belief is unambiguous. We know unmistakably what it means.
(2) *Consistency with the facts.* A good belief is founded on extensive and accurate observation. It is not contradicted by experience.
(3) *Consistency with other beliefs.* There is a presumption against a belief that conflicts with other beliefs well certified by experience. Sometimes, however, it is the latter beliefs rather than the former that need to be revised.
(4) *Utility.* A good belief is often distinguished by its usefulness in suggesting further good beliefs.
(5) *Simplicity.* Other things being equal, that belief is best which makes fewest assumptions.[1]

These tests are general in the sense that they apply equally to solutions proposed for any problem. The nature of the specific problem being investigated may suggest other and more particularized tests. The careful investigator will avail himself of these tests, too,

1. Columbia Associates in Philosophy, *An Introduction to Reflective Thinking* (New York, 1923), summarized on p. 334. By permission of Houghton Mifflin Company, publishers.

in an effort to make his re-evaluation of each proposed solution as comprehensive and objective as possible.

II. Analyzing the Solution

The second task in choosing the best solution is a final analysis of the problem and the selected solution. This task is partly analogous to that of making a preliminary analysis. The difference is that the preliminary analysis is an orientation made when little is known of the problem, while this final analysis is a reorientation made in the light of an exhaustive study of the problem and of suggested solutions. A second difference is that the preliminary analysis is made with little concern for any particular solution, while this final analysis is made in terms of a particular selected solution.

The purpose of this final analysis is to prepare for the fifth stage of the discussion and debate continuum—securing the acceptance by others of the selected solution.[2] It is a project in selecting and organizing the particular evidence and argument that directly supports the selected solution.

The project is in the two parts suggested by these questions: (1) What are the major contentions supporting the selected solution? (2) What evidence and argument supports each contention?

A. What Major Contentions Support the Selected Solution?

Any well-ordered speech is a unit made up of a number of smaller units, each of which is intended to support, elaborate, or prove the main proposition or thesis. This breaking up of a body of evidence and argument into smaller, compactly organized units has the advantage of making the whole argument easier for an audience to understand. Similarly in discussion and debate we organize our point of view around a series of major contentions or main heads. The *major contentions,* then, are the subordinate arguments which tend to support a proposition.

One simple method of identifying the major contentions is to review the determination of the main issues in the preliminary analysis, and to apply the formula of the "stock issues" to the ques-

2. This stage will be taken up in Chapter XVI, "Persuasion."

tion.[3] When a problem has reached the debate stage these "stock issues" usually are:

(1) Is there a need for a change from the status quo?
(2) Will the proposed solution meet the need?
(3) Is the proposed solution practicable?
(4) Is the proposed solution desirable?
(5) Will its advantages offset possible disadvantages?

A great deal of care must be exercised in the application of the "stock issue" formula, however, since obviously not all problems can be so neatly stereotyped. In this respect each problem is different. Sometimes the question of need for a change is not a vital issue; both sides in a debate may agree that a change is needed and differ only on the specific nature of that change. Again, both sides might agree that a certain change would be desirable, but differ as to its practicability. In any event, the exact *phraseology* of each major contention will be determined by other considerations. The "stock issues" are guides in the formulation of major contentions but are rarely models for their phraseology.

Thus in a debate on the proposal of a city-manager form of government for Glenrock, the first main issue, stated in question form, would be: "Is there a need for a change from the *status quo?*" To this question the affirmative would answer "yes," and phrase its major contention accordingly, while the negative would answer "no" and phrase its major contention in opposition. All of the major contentions presented by the affirmative might be:

(1) The continued corruption in the municipal government indicates the need for changing the basis of that government.
(2) A progressive change in the government of Glenrock would be the adoption of the city-manager form of government.
(3) A city-manager form of government would increase both the efficiency and the services of the administration.
(4) A city-manager form of government would cost the taxpayers of Glenrock less than the present type.

The negative might recognize the same main issues and produce a series of major contentions stated in exact opposition to those of the affirmative. In such a case there would be a direct clash between the supporters and the opponents of the proposition.

3. See Chapter VII, "Preliminary Analysis."

A word needs to be said concerning the number of major contentions which support a proposed solution for a problem. There can never be less than two, for if there were only one it would necessarily be identical with the proposition and thus lose its status as support or proof. At the same time there are obvious reasons why the number of major contentions will seldom exceed five. First, most arguments may be resolved into relatively few and simple basic component parts. Indeed, an argument loses its logical and coherent arrangement if it is divided into too many parts. If it appears that there are, as one high-school debater proclaimed, "twenty-three major contentions in my case," the obvious conclusion must be that a great number of subordinate arguments have been elevated to the level of major contentions. Second, the powers of perception and memory of audiences are limited; they cannot carry away any clear picture of a multitude of minor arguments, even though they be called *major* contentions! Three or four succinctly stated and meaningful arguments will invariably have more influence on their subsequent thinking about the problem.

B. What Evidence and Argument Supports Each Contention?

With the major contentions selected and formulated, the task of assembling the evidence and argument supporting each one is relatively simple, although it demands methodical sifting and evaluating of the whole body of evidence and argument related to the problem and its selected solution. Supporting each major contention there will probably be a number of subordinate arguments, and each of these will be supported by a number of pieces of evidence. The guiding principles in assembling these materials in support of each major contention are the simple ones of orderliness and relevancy.

With the major contentions supporting a proposed solution formulated, and with the argument and evidence supporting each major contention assembled and arranged, the final task is the recording of this body of proof which supports the proposition or proposed solution.

III. Making the Brief

One of the most widely read books in recent generations has been General Lew Wallace's story of the Holy Land in the time of

Christ, *Ben Hur*. Remarkable as are the descriptive passages in this book which draw clear and accurate pictures of the setting, it is even more remarkable that Wallace could write them without visiting the Holy Land. The secret of his accomplishment was the meticulous care with which he planned and organized his task. He drew topographical maps of the country he was to describe; plotted the streets, squares, walls, temples and buildings of Jerusalem and other cities important to his story; sketched floor plans of the Jewish and Roman houses in which his characters lived; and pictured the clothes in which they were dressed. Only with these projects completed did he begin the writing.

A. The Nature of a Brief

The same careful planning and organization should precede actual participation in discussion and debate. Before we can speak effectively we need to get a picture of the whole problem and of the solution we are advocating. For this reason we draw up what is known as a *brief*. A brief is a documentary record of our judgment, based upon our exploration of a problem. It includes all of the explanatory material, the valid evidence, and the sound argument which supports or relates to the solution we have chosen for that problem.

By virtue of its careful arrangement of each item of explanation, evidence, and argument, the brief pictures their relationships and their individual contributions to the proof of the solution advocated. In this way the brief distinguishes between the conclusions we reach and the reasons upon which they are based. The brief represents the means by which we distinguish *what* we think from *why* we think it.

B. Distinguishing Characteristics of a Brief

There are two characteristics of a brief which distinguish it from the written record made at any other time in the investigation of a problem: (1) it is complete, and (2) it is impersonal.

1. *A brief is always complete.* By its definition a brief includes *all* of the explanatory material, valid evidence, and sound argument supporting or relating to a given solution for a problem. If any bit of these three types of material is omitted, the brief is incomplete. A complete brief is a virtual storehouse of information,

all in orderly arrangement, so that anyone can look at it and get a "bird's-eye view" of the whole case. In this respect, the drawing up of a brief is like the arranging of a bridge hand—thirteen cards grouped only by chance may not present any definite pattern, but those same cards grouped in sequence, and by the four suits, will present an orderly and related picture enabling the player to determine his bid with greater ease. By an orderly arrangement of evidence and argument in a brief the proper relationship of all separate items is clearly shown, and the testing of each link in the chain of evidence and argument supporting the proposition is made easier.

There is a sharp distinction between the *complete brief* and an *outline* prepared for use in an actual speech situation. The outline makes no pretense of including all of the evidence or argument; it is simply a specially arranged plan for the presentation of the case to a particular audience. It is drawn up with a specific audience in mind, selecting from the brief only the evidence and argument especially suited to that audience.

2. *A brief is always impersonal.* What we have just said concerning the difference between a complete brief and a speech outline illustrates this distinguishing characteristic. A brief is not prepared with any particular audience in mind. It is a reservoir of data from which can be selected that which is most appropriate for any audience, and in that sense it is impersonal. It is also impersonal in the sense that the author should not project his bias into it. The brief is an objective chart of a particular course of thought, based upon evidence and argument.

C. General Rules for Constructing a Brief

In order to achieve the orderly arrangement essential in a brief, some systematic procedure should be employed. The few simple rules which follow provide such a procedure.

1. *Phrase a clear and accurate title.* Instead of "Nationalization of Munitions" use a more descriptive and accurate title such as "A brief supporting the proposition 'Resolved, that Congress should enact legislation to provide for the immediate acquisition and permanent control of all munitions industries.' "

2. *Construct the brief in three parts: the introduction, the discussion, and the conclusion.* Because the introduction will contain

the bulk of the necessary explanatory material; the discussion, the evidence and argument supporting the proposition; and the conclusion, a summary of the proof, the brief will be convenient to examine and to use.

3. *Arrange the individual items with uniform symbols and indentations which will make clear their relationships.* The normal sequence of Roman numerals, capital letters, Arabic numerals, and small letters, may be used with indentations as follows:

I. Major contention . . .
    A. Primary argument . . .
        1. Supporting argument . . .
            a. Evidence . . .
            b. Evidence . . .
        2. Supporting argument . . .
            a. Evidence . . .
    B. Primary argument . . .
        1. Evidence . . .
        2. Evidence . . .

4. *Let each individual item contain only one point.* To include more than one point in an item will confuse the reader and may even be ambiguous. If, for example, a proposal is opposed because it is both costly and inadequate these are two separate arguments and should never be included in a single item.

5. *Phrase each individual item into a succinct, complete, declarative sentence.* Incomplete sentences or sentences in question form become ambiguous and, to a casual reader, seem to be a secret code which hides the meaning. Phrase each item so completely that a person totally unacquainted with the proposition will be able to follow your argument.

D. The Introduction

Normally the introduction to a brief contains whatever explanatory material is necessary. This will ordinarily be of a noncontroversial nature, so that an affirmative and a negative brief might well be identical in their introductions. The introduction of a brief resembles the preliminary analysis made before exploring the problem. It will usually include these items and in this order:

(1) the meanings of the terms of the proposition;
(2) the origin and history of the problem;

(3) the immediate cause for discussion;
(4) the minimum essentials of any acceptable solution;
(5) the main issues (these should always be stated in question form; thus they will be at least nearly identical in the affirmative and negative brief).

E. The Discussion

The discussion portion of a brief includes only the evidence and argument supporting the proposition, arranged to support the major contentions derived from the main issues set forth in the introduction. Certain special considerations are helpful in writing the discussion.

1. *The major contentions should always correspond to the main issues of controversy.* Let us assume that one of the main issues of controversy is "Will legislation for the conscription of wealth in time of war tend to prevent war?" The affirmative contention (an elaboration of "yes") might be stated "Legislation conscripting wealth in time of war will take the profit out of war and thus make it less desirable." And the negative might phrase its major contention (an elaboration of "no") "Legislation conscripting wealth in time of war will not prevent most wars, which are fought without any hope of economic gain."

2. *Make every subheading read as a support for the preceding heading.* Because the purpose of the discussion is to erect a structure of proof which must of necessity be pyramidal in form, with the proposition at the apex, every major contention must be supported by lesser contentions, and this relationship should always be made clear. By adding the words "for" or "because" to the major contentions this relationship is obvious.

I. A city manager form of government for Marcellus would reduce administrative expenses, for
   A. Cities which have adopted the city-manager plan have, without exception, reduced expenses, for
      1. The experience of Glenrock . . . and
      2. The experience of Courtney . . . and
      3. The experience of Mannland . . .

3. *Include the evidence supporting each argument.* Because someone other than the writer may read the brief, it is essential that the

evidence be recorded in its proper place in the brief as well as in the mind of the investigator. Items 1, 2, and 3, in the illustration above are those of evidence supporting the preceding argument.

4. *Give the source of evidence.* Even though the evidence is set forth in a brief it may be of little value without a record of its source. Only a specific answer to a challenge of the source of evidence will carry weight; "Oh, I just read it somewhere" won't. It is usually most efficient to record the source in parentheses immediately under the statement of the evidence.

A. College enrollments increased in 1940, for
  1. Tarytown College jumped from 750 to 873 students, and
     (Tarytown *Gazette*, Oct. 17, 1940, p. 3.)
  2. Wattahatchus University's student body increased over 13%, and
     (Chicago *Clarion*, Oct. 5, 1940; interview with Dean E. P. Jaspers.)
  3. Lattimer Junior College gained 114 new students last registration, . . .
     (Lattimer Junior College *Alumni Magazine*, Nov., 1940, article by Public Relations Director C. B. Millikoff.)

F. The Conclusion

Ordinarily, the concluding section of a brief will be only a summary of the major contentions set forth more elaborately in the discussion; the purpose is largely that of rounding out the brief. The major contentions as they appear in the conclusion should, of course, be numbered exactly as they were in the discussion, and the sequence in both places should be the same as the sequence of the main issues of controversy set forth in the introduction.

With this chapter we have completed our study of the problem of which we were at first only vaguely aware. We have taken the steps leading from that initial awareness to an intelligent and well-ordered solution. We have learned that "order and simplification are the first steps toward the mastery of a subject—the actual enemy is the unknown." Throughout each of the last eight chapters has run the thread of purpose—the development of a methodology for applying the processes of reflective thinking to the task of problem solving.

READINGS

Columbia Associates in Philosophy, *An Introduction to Reflective Thinking* (New York, 1923), Chap. XIII.
Holmes, R. W., *The Rhyme of Reason* (New York, 1939), Chap. 14.
Jastrow, J., *Effective Thinking* (New York, 1931), Chap. 14.
Stebbing, L. S., *Thinking to Some Purpose* (London, 1939), Chap. XIV.

EXERCISES

*1. Draw up a complete brief advocating a specific solution for the problem you have selected for intensive study during the semester. Follow the general rules for constructing a brief suggested in this chapter.

2. Read a transcript of a Town Meeting of the Air Broadcast (see the Appendix) which included advocacy of alternative solutions for the problem under discussion. Test each advocated solution by the procedure outlined in this chapter.

3. Selecting what seems to you to be the best solution advocated in the broadcast examined in the above exercise draw up as complete a brief as you can on the basis of the evidence and argument set forth in the whole broadcast.

4. Draw up a brief of an article on a timely question contained in a current magazine. (Remember that this cannot be a *complete* brief inasmuch as the article is written by an advocate and includes only such material as the limitations of time and space permit.)

PART III

The Listener

CHAPTER XIII

How Individuals in Groups Think[1]

We have studied the techniques of analyzing the problem, and we are now ready to turn our attention to analyzing the audience. In preparing for participation or leadership in discussion and debate this stage of our study is of primary importance, for it is never enough to have a knowledge of our subject. We must also have a knowledge of our fellow participants and our hearers—their ways of thinking, their general characteristics, their specific beliefs, prejudices, wants, and desires, and the way in which our knowledge of the subject may be most effectively utilized in speaking to them. As Henry Ward Beecher said in his *Yale Lectures*, "a man may know the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, he may know every theological treatise from the day of Augustine to the day of Dr. Taylor, and if he does not understand human nature he is not fit to preach." [2]

The first step in this task of understanding human nature is to learn how individuals in groups think in much the same way as in Chapter IV we learned how individuals in isolation think. To do this, we shall first turn our attention to some general considerations of what happens when individuals are placed in the group situation; then to a brief examination of the tendencies in the individual

1. Groups are of two general types: (1) the *co-acting* group where the individual members are attending primarily to some stimulus other than each other, and (2) the *face-to-face* group where the individual members are reacting primarily to each other. Typical of the *co-acting* group is the normal public speaking situation, the debate, the lecture-forum, etc., while the *face-to-face* group is exemplified by an informal group discussion or a committee meeting. Except where specifically noted, the discussion that follows will be concerned with the *co-acting* group.

2. Henry Ward Beecher, *Yale Lectures* (New York, 1873), Vol. I, p. 85.

thinking process which are intensified in group situations; and finally to an analysis of those tendencies apparent in the individual as a member of a group which are not so apparent when he is by himself.

I. General Considerations

A. The Crowd

In order to understand the nature of the audience it will help us if we first turn our attention to the crowd, a group of individuals which, as a result of integration with each other and with a speaker or performer—a process sometimes called polarization—may become an audience. A crowd, it has been said, is a heterogeneous group grown homogeneous. That is, a heterogeneous group of individuals which reacts to the same stimuli becomes, for the time being at least, a homogeneous crowd, with similar aims and feelings. A simple illustration is the casual gathering on a city street corner to hear a soap-box orator proclaim the coming of revolution. By focusing their attention on the same stimuli the individuals have become a crowd. Allport says "a crowd is a collection of individuals who are all attending and reacting to some common object, their reactions being of a simple, prepotent sort and accompanied by strong emotional responses." [3]

Detailed psychological studies of the behavior of crowds have been made by such writers in the field of social psychology as Allport, Bogardus, Le Bon, and Young. However, for our purpose the general characteristics of crowd behavior may be summarized by observing that crowds tend: to be bewildered without leadership, to be egotistic, to be fickle, to be predominantly emotional in their responses, to be extremely suggestible, to restrict freedom of expression to sentiments acceptable to the crowd, to avoid extreme judgments, and to submerge the individual identities of their members.[4]

3. Floyd H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1924), p. 292.

4. In his observations of co-acting groups Floyd H. Allport, *ibid.*, pp. 261–285, has identified these tendencies: (1) Individuals in a co-acting group increase in both speed and amount of production over their performances when alone. (2) The logical content of their reasoning *in written performances* is lessened more than when alone. (3) Extremes in judgment are avoided more than when alone.

In general, we may explain these crowd tendencies by the concept of social facilitation or interstimulation—the interplay between members of a group which tends to canalize and make more intense their aims, feelings, and reactions. This does not imply a complete blending of personalities on the part of the individuals in the crowd but rather "an increase in response merely from the sight or sound of others making the same movements [responses]." [5]

While this phenomenon of social facilitation serves to release the reactions for which the individual is in readiness, and to increase those reactions once they have been initiated, it does not mean that a "group mind" develops as a mystical entity apart from the individual minds. Rather, it means that in a crowd there are many minds which at that particular time are organized in a special way for a special purpose. Such is the case when a heterogeneous group gathers for a common purpose, such as hearing a speech, protesting a city-council ordinance, or deciding upon a course of action to solve a common problem.

B. The Audience

We are now ready to examine a special form of crowd, the audience. An audience "is really a form of institutionalized crowd. It has much in common with the crowd, and differs only in the purpose and form of its organization." [6] By "institutionalized" we mean that the audience is usually more formal than a crowd, because of the predetermined objective for which it assembles, a specific place of meeting, seating arrangements, etc. In general, however, the behavior of audiences is similar to the behavior of crowds, differing in degree of response rather than in kind.

This difference between the crowd and the audience may be explained in terms of the degree of polarization. That is, in order to weld a crowd into an audience the speaker and the listeners must be established opposite each other as two separate entities, but with enough in common to make interaction possible. These conditions, ordinarily obtaining whenever crowds gather, tend to bring about this polarization: the lighting, which may be adjusted so as to center attention upon the platform; the seating arrangement, which

5. *Ibid.*, p. 262.
6. Kimball Young, *Social Psychology* (New York, 1930), p. 537.

likewise centers attention upon the platform and also establishes a certain degree of social unity; the auditorium, which in itself indicates not only social unity but purposiveness in the gathering; the ritual, which tends to merge the individuals into a social unit; and, finally, the speech or performance itself.[7]

Finally we need to identify the element of circular response which appears in a polarized audience. Circular response begins with the response of the audience to the speech or performance. It may be observed either in relatively restrained action such as smiles of approval, nods of agreement, or frowns of disapproval, or in more vigorous action such as applause or shouts of approval or disapproval. These visible and audible responses to the speaker have an effect upon him and he is stimulated to release new energy and effort. In turn, this brings new responses from the audience; the speaker and the audience continue to play upon each other and heighten each other's responses.

Circular response also takes place between members of the audience. The responses of those sitting nearby serve to stimulate and increase the individual's own responses, and these serve to stimulate further the responses of his neighbors. This may be illustrated by observing the influence upon his neighbors of an audience member who obviously approves of a speaker. In sum, then, this circular response or interplay of stimulation in an audience tends to increase the responses of the individuals in the audience far beyond what they would be outside of the audience situation.

C. Audience Types

We have said that an audience is a form of institutionalized crowd but we know that not all audiences are alike. The degree of polarization may vary; hence the integration of the members of the audience with each other and with the speaker may also vary. A comparatively simple way of classifying the various types of audiences has been devised by Hollingworth, using as a basis the five fundamental tasks a speaker must perform in persuading an audience. Thus his classification is based upon the tacit assumption

7. For a more exhaustive treatment of these factors see George W. Crane, *Psychology Applied* (Chicago, 1932), pp. 378–384. A more complete analysis of the psychological audience is found in Jon Eisenson, *The Psychology of Speech* (New York, 1937), pp. 200–204.

that the ultimate purpose of addressing an audience is to get its members to do something. Even in the discussion and debate situation, this may not always be true; when it is not, the speaker will need to perform fewer of these five sequential tasks:

(1) securing attention,
(2) establishing interest,
(3) making an impression,
(4) convincing the audience,
(5) directing the action of the audience.[8]

Thus if a speaker desires only to create an awareness of a problem, he will need only to secure attention from his audience. If he wishes to arouse the interest of his hearers in seeking a solution, he will need to undertake the second task as well. A speech to inform his audience, on the other hand, will require consideration of the third task of impressing the memory of his hearers. If the speaker wishes to convince his audience, he must also assume the fourth task; the fifth task will have to be performed if he wishes to secure action by his hearers upon a question of policy.

In terms of these five tasks, then, as well as in terms of the degree to which the audience is polarized or oriented toward the speaker, Hollingworth has classified five chief types of audiences.[9] This classification is the basis of our discussion which follows.

1. *The pedestrian audience.* The first audience type may be best exemplified by the casual or transient crowd which gathers at a street corner to hear a soap-box orator. As the audience is casual in its gathering so its degree of orientation toward the speaker is slight. Hence the speaker must begin with the basic task of *securing attention.* The pedestrian audience might be represented by a group of strangers who happen to sit together on a subway train, or the chance meeting of a group of businessmen who may pass the time by discussing the most recent action of the town council.

2. *The passive audience.* This type of audience is already partly oriented, first of all, toward the place in which it assembles. This orientation may shift to an integration of the members of the audience with each other, and finally to a polarization toward the

8. H. L. Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Audience* (New York, 1934), p. 18.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 21–25.

speaker. Typical of this audience is the face-to-face discussion group gathered to consider a problem. Perhaps a meeting of neighbors to listen to a broadcast of "America's Town Meeting of the Air" will want to discuss the subject of the broadcast after the program has concluded. The orientation may shift from time to time as various speakers present their views. Because of the partial orientation present in such a group, the task of the individual speaker will probably begin with *establishing interest* in his particular point of view.

3. *The selected audience.* Here the degree of integration and polarization is even greater; the audience has assembled for a common purpose, such as a meeting of a legislative assembly, or the convention of a professional association. Because this common purpose exists, the first two tasks of the speaker need not be undertaken and he may begin with *making an impression.*

4. *The concerted audience.* With this type of audience the degree of polarization is almost complete for its members have gathered with a definite and mutually shared interest in a specific enterprise. An example of this degree of orientation is the church congregation. Here the first three tasks need not be performed because of this advanced degree of polarization, and the speaker begins with the fourth step, *convincing the audience;* or even with the final step of *directing the action of the audience.* Another example might be a pre-election rally of a political party. Here, as in the case of the congregation, there is an audience whose general character is in almost direct opposition to the typical discussion group where the polarization is so slight that it shifts from time to time as successive members of the group speak in turn.

5. *The organized audience.* In this final type of audience, which may be represented by a football team listening to its signals, polarization is found in the ultimate degree. The team not only has a definite and mutual interest in a specific enterprise, but has also previously indicated its acceptance of the authority of the quarterback. A situation paralleling this may also obtain in the public-speaking situation where, as in the case of a Nazi party meeting addressed by Adolf Hitler, a state of apparently perfect polarization exists. In such circumstances *convincing the audience* is not necessary and only the final task of *directing the action of the audience* needs to be performed.

II. Individual Tendencies Intensified in the Group Situation

It will be recalled from Chapter IV, "How Individuals Think," that we discussed six related aspects of man's emotionalized thinking habits in terms of his tendencies to (1) rationalize, (2) confuse desire and conviction, (3) be suggestible, (4) succumb to personal appeals, (5) accept specious argument, and (6) ignore intellectual appeals. In this chapter we are interested in placing an individual in a group situation and observing the influence of the group upon these six aspects of his thinking patterns. We find that whenever an individual exhibits these types of behavior in a group situation they are both intensified in degree and increased in number. As has often been said, "the individual in a group tends to behave just as he would behave alone, *only more so*."

These aspects of behavior are related, rather than discrete; in some cases they may appear to overlap or to be completely identified with each other. For the sake of clearly appreciating the influence of each of them, however, we will treat them as though they could be definitely isolated.

A. Modes of Expressing Emotionalized Thinking

Since they both represent modes of expressing emotionalized thinking we will consider the first two aspects together: (1) we tend to rationalize even more, and (2) we tend further to confuse desire and conviction.

1. *We tend to rationalize even more.* As we pointed out earlier, we often rationalize because of the social pressure to "be rational"; thus we may inhibit our natural responses. In the group situation, however, if "everybody is doing it" this inhibition tends to be lessened and we are thus able to rationalize certain actions which, as isolated individuals, social pressure might prevent us from taking. Partly because of the relatively anonymous character of the individual in a group situation, and partly because of the circular response and interstimulation in a group, our rationalization is apt to take the very shallow form of "Well, I've always wanted to do this and now that everyone else is doing it I can do it too!" As Allport says, "All doubt or worry as to one's course of action disappears when one finds that one is acting with the other members

of the crowd. The fact that others approve of what one wants to do by doing the same thing themselves gives a comfortable sense of moral sanction."[10] This attitude, of course, is a form of rationalization. Rationalization is also likely to be increased in the group situation because there is less social pressure upon us to justify our actions or beliefs.

2. *We tend further to confuse desire and conviction.* One of man's most common desires is to believe that he is guided in his thinking by purely logical considerations. But other competing desires may be so much stronger that they lead him to accept certain beliefs even in the face of valid but contrary evidence. As a result we tend to accept beliefs which are desirable, while we tend to reject beliefs that are undesirable. In the group situation, certain of these desires which may have been dormant come to the fore and are expressed if we find that our fellows have the same desires. Thus is begun the process of circular response; as a result the demand for satisfaction of those desires is more urgent and we are more likely to accept beliefs which tend to satisfy them.

B. Reasons for Emotionalized Thinking

The next two factors may also be classed together since they both represent common reasons for emotionalized thinking. We will observe that (1) we tend to be even more suggestible, and (2) we tend to succumb more readily to personal appeals.

1. *We tend to be even more suggestible.* In Chapter IV we noted that suggestion operates most successfully under certain special conditions. Two of these are: that there be no equally strong competing suggestions, and that there be a state of excitement. Both of these special conditions are likely to be present in the group situation. Added to these special conditions is the factor of social facilitation which plays a large part in shaping our behavior by tending to increase our suggestibility. As Bogardus says: "A heightened state of suggestibility is characteristic of a crowd. The preponderance of feelings over reason heightens suggestibility. The excitement that frequently prevails in a crowd throws persons off their guard. The force of numbers is overwhelming."[11]

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 312.
11. Emory S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (New York, 1931), p. 310.

All individuals, regardless of their status in life, have reserve behavior potentialities. These potentialities are immature attitudes or ideas which may find their first expression as a result of suggestion, or organization of these elements, by a group leader. Thus the crowd or the audience situation becomes an occasion for the release of these potentialities. It has been suggested, for example, that persons in an average audience have enough fear, hate, prejudice, and so on, in their reserve behavior potentialities, to be aroused to the lust of war. The same persons may also have enough altruism and charity in reserve to be aroused to donate to a welfare fund or the Red Cross.[12]

2. *We tend to succumb more readily to personal appeals.* Three observations lead us to this conclusion. First, groups tend to be more susceptible to personal appeals when they come from one who speaks with, or who is presumed to speak with, authority. Second, there is a heightened susceptibility to personal appeals when the speaker "links himself to the audience," not only by the use of such terms as "we," "you," and "us," but by appealing to common experiences, backgrounds, and interests. This technique, sometimes referred to as the "plain folks" device, was observed, for example, in the campaigns of Huey Long. Of them Westbrook Pegler has written:

> Huey is a master of the underdog technique, who speaks to the people as one who has suffered much, although he hasn't soiled his hands, except in a political sense, since he was fifteen years old and has lived, in round numbers, the luxurious life of Reilly all that time except when he was out taking pot luck with the farmers for campaign purposes. It all amounts to an "act," of course, but it is the most reliable style yet devised for appealing to people who aren't very good hands at thinking and give their approval to those who flatter them by imitating them.[13]

Finally, circular response contributes to this susceptibility to personal appeals and increases their efficacy in the group situation. When an individual is not impressed with a speaker, he is not likely to be susceptible to the speaker's appeals. But if other members of the audience are impressed by the speaker, their acceptance of him

12. For this concept we are indebted to L. Guy Brown, Professor of Sociology, Oberlin College.
13. "Pegler Says," *Chicago Daily News*, May 13, 1935, p. 15.

will, through interstimulation, tend to move the unimpressed individual and thus render him susceptible to the speaker's personal appeals.

C. Results of Emotionalized Thinking

The crowd influences the results of emotionalized thinking in two ways: (1) we tend to accept specious argument more readily, and (2) we tend even more to ignore intellectual appeals.

1. *We tend to accept specious argument more readily.* Implicit in almost all we have said concerning the influence of the group upon an individual's thinking is this conclusion: we more readily accept specious argument in group situations. Especially is this true of rationalizations and suggestions, since they are often founded upon illogical reasoning or specious argument. If these rationalizations or suggestions fit into our mental picture of the world, we are likely to accept them uncritically in any circumstance; the influence of the group makes us less, rather than more, discriminating.

2. *We tend even more to ignore intellectual appeals.* This is an obvious corollary of our previous observations. When we tend even more to rationalize, to confuse desire and conviction, we are substituting those processes of emotionalized thinking for intellectual appeals based upon reflective thinking. "Crowds act quickly via the feelings, but via reason exceptionally if at all, for feeling tends to submerge reason." [14] When an individual is in the group situation he experiences a temporary and partial release from the inhibitions which ordinarily surround him. The resulting "sense of emotional freedom" Young has called one of the five most obvious aspects of crowd behavior.[15] And it is this freedom to exercise previously inhibited emotional reactions which leads the individual in the group to tend even more to ignore intellectual appeals.

Without exception, then, those six tendencies of an individual's emotionalized thinking are intensified and increased when he is in a group. Moreover, certain other aspects of an individual's behavior, not present in any significant degree when he is alone, may be observed in the group situation. To these we now turn our attention.

14. Emory S. Bogardus, *op. cit.*, p. 309.
15. See Kimball Young, *op. cit.*, p. 522.

III. Distinctive Tendencies of the Individual in the Group Situation

Before examining these distinctive tendencies in group thinking it is well to recall that this analysis is focused upon the *emotionalized* thinking process, and that these tendencies are antithetical to the standard of *reflective* thinking. There are three distinctive tendencies in our thinking in group situations.

A. We Tend to Imitate Our Fellows in Belief and Action

Many psychologists once believed that when one individual exhibited an emotional or a motor reaction (such as laughing or running) other individuals would instinctively exhibit that same reaction, through imitation. This view is largely discredited today and it is not in this sense that we use the term imitation. Rather, we use it to designate (1) certain learned or conditioned responses which (2) tend to make us amenable to social pressure. Used in this way, imitation does not refer to a special and distinct type of human activity but merely to one pattern of normal stimulus-response behavior.

As we observed earlier, one of the fundamental human drives is the tendency to behave in ways that will help us to gain recognition, admiration, respect or approval. This tendency in itself is a learned response. Because of it we tend to be amenable to social pressure. Imitation, then, is a term used to characterize the response of an individual in the group situation when that response stems not so much from the specific stimulus (such as an emotional appeal by a speaker) as from the fact that our fellows are responding to that stimulus. Because we desire to be socially accepted, we tend to respond in the same way.

Of course, imitation is most apparently manifested in the tendency toward uniform action in crowds. This tendency is so strong in certain groups that freedom of speech may be at least partially restricted since the crowd may not be willing to hear anyone speak against the prevailing belief. O'Neill and Weaver recognize this tendency and say that because of it the crowd is typically conservative. "If we define conservatism as a reluctance to do anything unique, then, clearly, by very definition, the crowd being a group

of individuals acted upon by one another and responding in a uniform fashion is conservative. From the point of view of the particular crowd itself this uniformity is conservatism. Who is the conservative really, but the one who is fearful of breaking the social code and is eager to do what every one else is doing?" [16]

B. We Tend to Intensify Our Prejudices

Prejudice may be defined as "a hasty judgment or an opinion formed without due examination." [17] This same characterization applies to our tendencies to be suggestible, to accept specious argument, and to ignore intellectual appeals. Young has added to this definition by observing that this hasty judgment or opinion is usually a predetermined attitude based upon "culturalized values and attitudes." [18] That is, our cultural background or even our economic status in society may more or less automatically indoctrinate us with our prejudices.

Specifically, prejudice may manifest itself in racial, economic, political, and religious antagonisms. Thus we make hasty and unvalidated judgments such as: "every man is born to a definite station in society," "all aliens are radicals," or "never trust a Wall Street man!" As a rule we are not willing to admit that we are prejudiced; indeed, much of our rationalization is occasioned by a desire to find rational bases for these predetermined judgments.

These latent prejudices are intensified in the group situation when social facilitation removes inhibitions upon the expression of our prejudices because other folks feel the same way. Thus even a self-acknowledged prejudice need occasion no shame.[19] Indeed, many groups in the concerted or organized audience stage may have been assembled specifically for the purpose of activating

16. J. M. O'Neill and A. T. Weaver, *The Elements of Speech* (New York, 1933), p. 286. By permission of Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., publishers.

17. W. F. Ogburn, "Bias, Psychoanalysis, and the Subjective in Relation to the Social Sciences," *Proceedings of the American Sociological Society*, XVII, pp. 62–74.

18. Kimball Young, *op. cit.*, p. 678. See his discussion of prejudice, pp. 454–502.

19. Martin refers to this process as an *unconscious* one: "The crowd is always formed for the unconscious purpose of relaxing the social control by mechanisms which mutually justify such antisocial conduct on the part of members of the crowd." See Everett Dean Martin, *The Behavior of Crowds* (New York, 1920), p. 231.

these prejudices, as in the meetings of the Ku Klux Klan or a lynching mob.

C. We Tend to Become Susceptible to Propaganda

Propaganda, *per se*, may have little direct resemblance to the tendencies we have been observing. Rather, it is a technique or medium by means of which these tendencies may be expressed by individuals or by groups. With that distinction clear we may proceed to a definition of propaganda.

Leonard H. Doob has defined propaganda as "a systematic attempt by an interested individual or individuals to control the attitudes of groups of individuals *through the use of* suggestion, and consequently to control their actions." [20] Harold D. Lasswell offers an elaboration of this definition, saying that propaganda "refers solely to the control of opinion by significant symbols, or . . . by stories, rumors, reports, pictures, and other forms of social communication. Propaganda is concerned with the management of opinions and attitudes by the direct manipulation of social suggestion rather than by altering other conditions in the environment or in the organism." [21]

With these definitions in mind, we may make certain observations concerning propaganda as a technique: (1) propaganda is concerned almost solely with predetermined ends; (2) it therefore is deliberately antagonistic to the process of reflective thinking as we know it; (3) it tends to emphasize "what to think" rather than "how to think"; (4) it tends to be one-sided and selfish; and, (5) it is regarded as "good" or "bad" depending upon our point of view.

The specific devices by which propaganda is disseminated have been catalogued conveniently under these descriptive titles: Name Calling, Glittering Generalities, Transfer, Testimonial, Plain Folks, Card Stacking, and Band Wagon.[22] These and similar propaganda devices have been employed by molders of public opinion as long as men have desired others to accept their beliefs and ideas. It was Napoleon who said "Give the masses a toy! They will play with

20. Leonard H. Doob, *Propaganda, Its Psychology and Technique* (New York, 1935), pp. 75–76.
21. Harold D. Lasswell, *Propaganda Technique in the World War* (New York, 1927), pp. 8–9. By permission of Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., publishers.
22. *Propaganda Analysis*, Vol. I, No. 2 (November, 1937), pp. 1–3.

it and allow themselves to be led—provided always that the leader is adroit enough to hide his true aims." Only within very recent times, however, has the word propaganda had a "bad" meaning with special groups organized to analyze and combat it. The responsibility for this current "propaganda-against-propaganda" campaign lies largely at the feet of Adolf Hitler, who relied upon it in his climb to dictatorial power.

"Propaganda," said Hitler, "tries to force a doctrine upon an entire people . . . To whom has propaganda to appeal? To the scientific intelligentsia or to the less educated masses? It has to appeal forever and only to the masses! Propaganda is not for the intelligentsia or for those who unfortunately call themselves by that name today, . . . propaganda is in its contents as far from being a science as perhaps a poster is art in its presentation as such . . . . its effect has always to be directed more and more towards the feelings, and only to a certain extent to so-called reason. . . . The more modest, then, its scientific ballast is, and the more it exclusively considers the feelings of the masses, the more striking will be its success. This, however, is the best proof whether a particular piece of propaganda is right or wrong, and not the successful satisfaction of a few scholars or 'aesthetic' languishing monkeys. . . . Propaganda's task is . . . not to evaluate the various rights, but far more to stress exclusively the one that is to be represented by it. It has not to search into truth as far as this is favorable to others, . . . but it has rather to serve its own truth uninterruptedly." [23]

The fact that propaganda makes use of rationalizing, emotional appeals, suggestion, specious argument, and appeals to prejudice concerns us, since we know that in the emotionalized thinking process we tend to be influenced by such appeals.

We are now ready to draw certain general conclusions. As groups of people are increasingly oriented or polarized their tendency to think reflectively decreases. Social facilitation, or circular response, is in large measure responsible for this change in their behavior. The same tendencies which are apparent in the emotionalized thinking of individuals are intensified and increased in the group situation. Certain other tendencies, equally antithetical to reflective thought, also manifest themselves. When individuals are placed in a group situation they tend to relax their sense of

23. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf* (New York, 1940), pp. 850, 230, 232, 233, 236. By permission of the copyright holders, Houghton Mifflin Company.

discrimination. That is, they tend to respond emotionally rather than logically and to form hasty judgments at the expense of critical and discriminating thought.

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EXERCISES

1. From campus groups with which you are acquainted select five to illustrate the five types of audiences discussed in this chapter. With what types of problems might each be concerned?

2. Write a 300–500 word case history of an occasion in which you have observed the operation of one of the distinctive tendencies of the individual in the group situation as they have been discussed in this chapter.

3. Find examples of three of the six individual tendencies in thinking which are often intensified in the group situation.

4. Prepare a three-minute speech of explanation and analysis of a sample of propaganda by an individual or agency such as one of the following: (a) Father Coughlin, (b) Dr. Townsend, (c) Federal Unionists, (d) the publicity director of your college, (e) a newspaper editorial, (f) World Peaceways, or (g) the German-American Bund.

5. Organize a class symposium on the nature and extent of propaganda, dealing with such topics as these:

(a) Propaganda in the news.
(b) War propaganda.
(c) Propaganda of alien groups in America.
(d) Propaganda in commercial advertising.
(e) Propaganda in the schools.

6. Organize a class-discussion unit on propaganda. This assignment may be carried out on four successive days, one third of the class participating in each of the three panel-forums, and the whole class taking part in the concluding formal group discussion. The four discussion topics, and the purpose of each discussion, might be:

(a) Locating and defining the problem (panel-forum):
What is propaganda?
(b) Exploring the problem (panel-forum):
How does propaganda influence our thinking?
(c) Examining suggested solutions (panel-forum):
How may we as individuals best deal with propaganda?
(d) Choosing the best solution (formal group discussion):
How should democracy deal with propaganda?

CHAPTER XIV

Characteristics of the Average Audience

In the last chapter, we saw what happens when individuals are placed in the group situation. We are now ready to continue our analysis of the listener by considering the social nature of group organization and some general aspects of group relationships. Finally, we shall make certain observations on the intelligence and beliefs of audiences.

We shall refer to characteristics of the *average* audience, recognizing, however, that there is no such thing as an *average* audience or an *average* individual. Audiences are *average* only in that their members may be typical of a particular class or that they may be composed largely of so-called "average individuals." Such observations of audiences as have been made are valid only for a specific audience which has been observed at a given time under certain conditions. These may be *helpful*, however, in estimating similar audiences under similar conditions. It is for this purpose that we examine the characteristics of the average audience.

I. The Social Nature of Group Organization [1]

A. Society Is Built upon Group Organization

Our whole society is built upon group organization, whether that organization be formal or informal. As opposed to certain other

1. In previous chapters we have used the term *group* to designate numbers of people gathered in face-to-face or co-acting situations for purposes of discussion and debate. As we will use the term in this chapter we will be designating broad social groups, members of which may never come into actual contact.

forms of government, democracy reveres the status and the integrity of the individual, but even in a democracy society functions in terms of groups and group organizations. For while each individual has a character and nature of his own, each individual also belongs to a group, or groups, and some of his social behavior is conditioned by those groups. Thus a given individual may be a laborer, a private entrepreneur, or a professional man, and as any one of these he belongs to a large general class or informal group of fellows who are similarly employed. In a smaller area, he may also be a member of a parallel formal group, such as a labor union, an association of manufacturers, or a bar association.

B. Each Individual Belongs to Many Overlapping Groups

While each individual thus belongs to a formal or informal group organization built around his means of earning a living he also belongs to other groups—religious, racial, national, social, political, fraternal, etc. In other words, the various group associations of every individual overlap. As Harold J. Laski has said, "Whether we will or no we are all bundles of hyphens." Thus we may find a given individual among our listeners (our audience being in itself a special group) who belongs to the labor union of his particular trade, the Catholic church, the Knights of Columbus, the Fourth Ward Democratic Club, the American Legion, and the Sons of Italy. To each he makes his personal contribution, intellectual, emotional, and financial. Each of these groups in turn has its effect upon him, helping to determine the creed he accepts, the way he votes, the prejudices he holds, the way he thinks, and what he thinks on personal and public problems.

C. Each Individual Is of Certain Groups and Apart from All Groups

To say that an individual always thinks, believes, and acts in terms of the groups to which he belongs, however, would be inaccurate. Rather, the individual must go through a continuous cycle of adapting his own personality to all of these groups. The very multiplicity of his group memberships makes it unlikely that there is a single and uncontroverted pressure upon him to follow a certain course of action or to accept a given belief. As a consequence the individual is not only *of* certain groups but he is also *apart from*

or above, all these groups. It is from this position that his adjustments must be made. Says Grace L. Coyle, "Within the mind of each member as he participates in the group there goes on continuously an intricate adjustment of psychological forces. He is affected not only by pressures that reach him from his associated activity in this organization, or that rise from his own consciousness, but also by the necessity of adjusting his relationships to a variety of groups." [2]

In summary, then, our whole society is built around group organization. What Graham Wallas characterized as *The Great Society* is in reality a collection of lesser societies or groups. To the leader or participant in discussion and debate, this group factor in society is of significance. The particular audience with which he is concerned may be a select audience (composed of members of a certain group such as a labor union or a civic club) or it may be a general audience (composed of members of many groups who are gathered with a single purpose, such as hearing a public lecture or taking part in a political rally.) In either case he is dealing not only with individuals and individuals' ideas, but also with beliefs, doctrines, and prejudices derived directly from group organizations. These he must discover and analyze, if his participation or leadership in discussion and debate is to be successful.

II. Some General Aspects of Organized Groups

A. Groups Are Usually Built Around a Common Characteristic

This common characteristic may be age, such as in the Boy Scout movement; sex, as in the League of Women Voters; profession, as in the American Medical Association; or social-political philosophy, as in the Union League Club. Other factors in the personalities of the individuals making up the group may be most inharmonious, but within the particular group and for its particular purpose, a large number of heterogeneous individuals have become temporarily homogeneous. As we observed in the preceding chapter, "there are many minds which at that particular time are organized in a special way for a special purpose."

2. Grace Longwell Coyle, *Social Process in Organized Groups* (New York, 1930), p. 35. By permission of Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., publishers.

B. Groups Frequently Determine Their Own Membership

Although in certain large informal groups such as the so-called "working class," membership is determined almost solely by economic status, smaller and more formally organized groups usually determine their own membership in accordance with their purposes or interests. Such was the Ladies New York Club of the '90's, open to all "gentlewomen whose social status is beyond question," and such may be a religious group which demands acceptance of a standard "confession of faith" from prospective members. Such restrictions tend to maintain a unanimity within these groups.

C. Groups Tend to Be Dynamic Rather than Static

This dynamic character manifests itself in two ways. First, in groups whose principles undergo but slight modification from generation to generation, there is a dynamic quality apparent in that the methods by which these principles are maintained and furthered tend to change. Second, there are some groups in which the principles themselves may be changed as a result of a corresponding change in membership. These changes may be the result of a suddenly increased income, an ascent to power of a political party, or it may be the change in age and maturity reflected in the old French proverb, "He who is not a radical at twenty has no heart, but he who is not a conservative at forty has no head."

D. Groups are Transmitters of Culture and Carriers of Social Values

That is, the existence of a large number of "public schools" men in England tends to attach a certain social value to membership in that class. Or, in America, certain social values are ordinarily associated with the descendants of those who came from England on the *Mayflower*, those who fought in the Revolutionary War, or those who organized the western Vigilantes. Such standards of social value have provided the backbone of many organized groups, primarily those concerned with economic or social status, but they are also found in organizations with strong religious or racial tenets such as the Ku Klux Klan, the Silver Shirts, or the German-American Bund.

E. Groups Face Specific Obstacles in Carrying on Intergroup Communication

Still another aspect of organized groups is the matter of intra- and intergroup communication. In both cases the communication is obviously based upon the use of common language symbols and in the intragroup situation these are usually sufficient. In intergroup situations, however, there are limiting factors which make communication difficult and, at times, almost impossible. Of this aspect of organized groups the leader or participant in discussion and debate must always be aware. Among the factors limiting intergroup communication are the following:

1. *Groups vary in ways of thinking.* This variation is particularly noticeable, for example, in situations where people from an old-world agricultural background migrate to America and encounter a young industrial civilization. Their previous thinking has been conditioned by the particular environment in which they lived. But when they come to America they are confronted with new conditioning factors—different social mores, new economic opportunities, strange social attitudes, different educational standards, and so on. Their old frames of reference are no longer adequate. Their ways of thinking may be entirely different from those of their new neighbors. This same conflict may also be observed in the contrasting attitudes of people from long-established cultures of New England and those who are but a generation removed from the vigorous frontier era of the West.

2. *Varying traditions influence groups.* A second limiting factor in intergroup communication is the influence of varying traditions upon groups. These are to be found primarily in economic and political groups: Los Angeles, for example, is traditionally an "open-shop" town, and the weight of this tradition is borne by manufacturing groups today. The state of Wisconsin has traditionally encouraged liberal movements in government under the aegis of the "Wisconsin idea." Such traditional factors tend to make intergroup communication difficult, since the contending groups may believe and act from the point of view of mutually irreconcilable traditions.

3. *Diverse experiences influence groups.* The members of certain groups have experiences different from those of other groups;

they do their thinking from separate frames of reference and hence encounter difficulties in intergroup communication. The most obvious example of this limiting factor is to be observed in certain employer-employee controversies where the backgrounds and experiences of the contending parties are totally dissimilar. In an increasingly complex industrial society this problem of intergroup communication becomes similarly more complex. As one industrialist has said, ". . . management no longer represents, as formerly, a *single interest;* increasingly it functions on the basis of a *trusteeship*, endeavoring to maintain a proper balance of equity between *four* basic interlocking groups: the shareholders . . . the jobholders . . . the customers . . . the public." [3] The shareholders, the jobholders, the customers, and the public each look at the corporation from a different background or frame of reference. This factor increases the obstacles to communication between these four groups.

4. *Ways and status in life influence groups.* General ways of life and economic, social, and political status are reflected through individual members in most group organizations. These, too, are responsible for great difficulty in communication between groups. Particularly in groups which represent classes is this true. There exists a separate culture and a separate body of knowledge derived from that culture and, because each of these engenders a particular approach to a given social problem, difficulties in intergroup communication are increased. Thus we may refer to certain groups as Marxist, Jeffersonian, or Hamiltonian, and imply that their points of view are derived from those distinctive systems of political and economic thought.

5. *Difficulty in expert-layman intercourse.* A final obstacle to intergroup communication is the difficulty of establishing adequate intercourse between the expert and the layman. The expert in tax legislation finds it difficult to present his opinions in nontechnical language divorced from research technique and terminology. Thus a great deal of scientific research and experiment in social problems is virtually lost; at best, the application of the results of this research is delayed. The cause, as Lippmann and Wallas have pointed out, is that there exists no simple vocabulary by means of which

3. From a speech by Lewis Brown, president of Johns-Manville, reported in *Time*, April 3, 1939, p. 58.

the expert may converse with laymen. While greater use of public discussion may be helpful in removing the first four of these barriers to intergroup communication, it seems likely that discussion and debate can be most efficacious in providing a medium and a technique by which the individual citizen may converse with, and co-operate with, the expert in discovering solutions for public problems.

F. Groups Reach Agreement by Authority, Compromise, Enumeration, or Integration (Consensus)

As a final step in observing organized groups, we need to give our attention to the procedures by which a group reaches a decision which may be translated into action. Sociologists are essentially agreed that "the distinctive mark of human society" in resolving conflicts is best represented by the term *consensus* rather than *co-operation* or *corporate action*.[4] This means of reaching a group agreement as distinguished from other possible procedures, is perhaps best illustrated by the following table drawn up by Robert M. MacIver: [5]

BASIS	PROCESS	NATURE OF DECISION	TREATMENT OF DIFFERENCES
I. Authority	Acquiescence and assent	Formal unanimity	Suppressed or held in abeyance
II. Compromise	Give and take	Formal unanimity	Registered in the result but not reconciled
III. Enumeration	Inconclusive discussion	Majority determination	Registered in the process but not in the result
IV. Integration [consensus]	Conclusive discussion	Real unanimity	Expressed in the process and conserved in the result

1. *Authority*. In one sense it is paradoxical to speak of this procedure as one by which a group decides, for it really means that a group accepts a decision made by someone in authority. It has

4. See Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago, 1924), pp. 166–167.

5. Robert M. MacIver, *Society: Its Structure and Changes* (New York, 1931), p. 178. By permission of Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., publishers.

the virtue of presenting an outward appearance of unanimity, or a "united front," but it actually suppresses any divergent opinions held by group members. In this class are the decisions of the general in the army, the captain of a football team, or the dictator of a nation.

2. *Compromise.* When a group reaches a decision by means of a compromise the formal result is again apparently unanimity of feeling. Actually, however, individual members give up a part of their stand in return for a similar modification of position on the part of others. While such a sacrifice may be imperative in order to reach any sort of decision, the original differences of opinion may still remain. The "horse-trading" or "log-rolling" of political groups is a form of decision by compromise wherein concessions are made but basic beliefs are not altered.

3. *Enumeration.* The process of enumeration as a means of resolving conflicts is essentially the process of parliamentary bodies. An inconclusive discussion is followed by the tallying of individual opinions, and that opinion held by the majority prevails. Thus the minority has an opportunity to register its opinion in the process of reaching the decision, but once the decision is reached the minority opinion is of little significance.

4. *Integration (consensus).* When the method of integration, or consensus, is employed, the result is real unanimity. Basic differences are integrated into a new decision, rather than being compromised into a makeshift decision. Thus the consensus of the group is a decision which conserves the differences which have been apparent in the preliminary discussion. In certain cases Department of Labor conciliators have been able to integrate conflicting views of employees and employers into a consensus in which neither side compromises its opinions. The method of integration is also occasionally observed in small policy-determining groups where objective and conclusive discussion is possible.

The techniques of discussion and debate may, at various stages in the consideration of a problem, use any of the last three bases of reaching an agreement, but the first basis, that of *authority*, is antithetical to the purposes and methods of discussion and debate.

We may summarize this brief survey of the general aspects of organized groups, by recalling that groups are usually built around a common characteristic, objective, or interest; that they usually

determine their own membership; that they tend to be dynamic rather than static; that they are transmitters of culture and carriers of social values; that they face a number of obstacles in carrying on intergroup communication; and that, while certain other procedures are often followed, the method of consensus is the most desirable in achieving group agreement.

Because our whole society is built upon group organization the leader or participant in discussion or debate must inevitably deal with individuals as group members. It is imperative, therefore, that he understand these general aspects of organized groups. For, if he has an adequate understanding of group behavior, he may make the adaptations or adjustments necessary to focus group attention upon the task of seeking intelligent solutions for public problems.

III. The Intelligence of Audiences

We are now ready to turn our attention to the more specific matter of the intelligence of the audience. While it will be impossible to set up any inflexible classification of audience intelligence or audience beliefs, such general data as are available should command our attention. As Thomas Wilson wrote long ago, before we speak we must "aduisedly marke the men before whom we speake, the men against whom we speake, and al the circumstances which belong unto the matter." [6]

A. A Definition of Intelligence

The obvious query with which to begin this brief survey is—what is intelligence? Without becoming involved in educational terminology we may define intelligence as the ability to learn, or to perceive facts and to use them in reasoning and imagining. This is another way of saying that the intelligent individual is able to adjust or adapt himself to new situations. Or, to broaden our definition, intelligence is the capacity for incorporating social experience into adaptations to new situations.

Intelligence is not a substance that can be quantitatively measured; it is, rather, a capacity which may be exhibited in a greater or lesser degree. Thus, we cannot say definitely that June has more

6. Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorique* (London, 1560; republished, London, 1909), p. 99.

intelligence than Jane, but we can say that when confronted with certain situations June demonstrates the ability to resolve them more efficiently and more effectively than Jane. It is apparent, then, that the intelligence of audiences, or of the individuals who compose audiences, can be indicated here only by broad generalizations.

B. Results of Intelligence Tests

The first widespread mental testing carried on in this country was the application of what is known as the Army Alpha Test to the drafted men in the American army during World War I. The complete results of these tests have been reported elsewhere [7] and we present here portions of these results with other data compiled by H. L. Hollingworth [8] who has summarized his findings by saying that "The average man, as characterized by what is now known about his mental equipment and beliefs, merits the astonished study of every public performer."

The average man, Hollingworth finds, has an education of about the sixth grade, an Intelligence Quotient of 100, and an average mental age of about fourteen years. About 50 per cent of the population, Hollingworth believes, falls into this classification, with the remaining 50 per cent equally distributed above and below it.[9] To apply this generalization to a familiar situation, we may say that the average I.Q. level of the approximately 8 per cent of the population who enter college is 115.[10]

The vocabulary of this average individual is about 7,500 words, among which are: *nerve*, *insure*, *juggler*, *shrewd*, *revenge*, *pity*, and *justice*. Some words which he cannot explain are: *Mars*, *coinage*, *charter*, and *philanthropy*. Among the distinctions that he cannot explain are the differences between *poverty* and *misery*, *evolution* and *revolution*, *character* and *reputation*, and *laziness* and *idleness*.

In terms of limited measurements of the I.Q. of various voca-

7. See R. M. Yerkes and C. S. Yoakum, *Army Mental Tests* (New York, 1920).

8. H. L. Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Audience* (New York, 1935), pp. 126–128.

9. See also H. L. Hollingworth, *Mental Growth and Decline* (New York, 1924), p. 275.

10. See L. M. Terman, *The Measurement of Intelligence* (Boston, 1916), pp. 78–79, for data showing the I.Q. distribution of the population.

tional groups, Hollingworth roughly classifies vocations with their approximate mental age levels. In checking this classification, it must be kept in mind that individuals in any of these groups may deviate widely from the average, and that the classification serves only to give a broad and general picture of the vocational population.

5 per cent, mental age under ten years: defectives and incompetents.
20 per cent, mental age about twelve years: laborers, miners, teamsters, grade-school pupils, etc.
50 per cent, mental age about fourteen years (the "average" man): plumbers, policemen, mechanics, telephone operators, poor high-school students, grade-school graduates, etc.
20 per cent, mental age about sixteen years: nurses, accountants, bookkeepers, dentists, college students, etc.
5 per cent, superior adult level: professional men, executives, university graduates, etc.

Making similar inferences from like data, Dashiell has summarized this material, which he calls primarily suggestive rather than definitive: ". . . the professional lines demand it [intelligence] most, certain business lines requiring initiative coming next, then the work of artisans, then small lines of business, and last of all teaming and day-laboring." [11]

Many audience groups, of course, will be drawn from all of these vocational group classifications and the participant or leader in discussion and debate must come to know his particular audience groups as he deals with them. In that enterprise the material just presented can serve only to indicate in a general way the intelligence characteristics of audiences drawn at random from the population at large.

IV. The Beliefs of Audiences

A. A Definition of Belief

By the term *belief* we mean the acceptance of a concept which resolves a relatively obscure situation into a clear and coherent one to the point where, overtly or imaginatively, we are ready to act upon it. For example, a voter may be confronted with a choice

11. John Frederick Dashiell, *Fundamentals of Objective Psychology* (Boston, 1928), p. 317.

between two candidates. While he hesitates between them he is confronted with a relatively obscure situation. When, however, he determines to vote for one of them he has resolved that situation into a new one which is clear and coherent; he believes his man should be elected, and he is ready to act upon that belief.

B. The Nature of Belief

When we come to examine the nature of beliefs we find, first of all, that they are socially determined. That is, they are based only in part upon our personal experiences and depend largely upon the advice, testimony, and influence of others. Even when belief is derived from tradition—as many of our beliefs are—it has a social character through its transmission from person to person or from group to group.

C. The Sources of Belief

The specific sources of our beliefs are many. Lund's experiments, already referred to, are worthy of fuller consideration in this connection. Several hundred individuals, most of them college students, were asked to rate propositions on a scale of belief strength and to indicate in each case the determinants of the belief. The propositions used will be indicated by the following samples: "Is the earth practically round?" "Is the golden rule a practicable concept in business relations?" "Is democracy the best form of government?" "Does death end personal existence?"

The belief determinants were then assembled and classified into ten categories. This classification follows, together with the indicated frequency with which they were cited: [12]

Determinants	*Frequencies*
A. Teaching and training	326
B. Personal experience	151
C. Personal opinion	116
D. Personal reasoning	92
E. Desire and satisfyingness	58
F. Authoritative opinion	46
G. Public opinion	44
H. Axiomatic principle	6

12. F. H. Lund, "The Psychology of Belief," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, XX, 1 (April, 1925), pp. 194–195.

(Individual responses)	125
(No response)	86
Total	1050

These results indicate the relatively high frequency with which determinants definitely social in nature mold our beliefs; of the total, but 317 were attributed to "*personal* experience," "*personal* opinion," "*personal* reasoning," or "[personal] desire and satisfyingness." The other determinants were quite definitely social in character. But even in the case of these 317 so-called "personal" determinants it seems reasonable to believe that they were at least indirectly the results of such social influences as previous training, imitation, tradition, etc.

D. The Determinants of Belief Strength

Inquiring further into the nature of beliefs we find that not all beliefs are held with equal conviction—a voter may be more certain of his preference for Candidate A over Candidate B in the gubernatorial race than of his preference for Candidate Y over Candidate Z in the mayoralty race. For these variations in belief-strength a number of factors may be responsible.

1. *Length of time held.* There appears to be a very high correlation of belief-strength with the length of time the belief has been held. Certain experiments by C. H. Marple, for example, tend to indicate that "whether measuring changes in belief due to chance or those which occur in the presence of a group or expert preference, there appears to be a decline of suggestibility with increasing age." [13] As we grow older and hold our beliefs longer they are stronger and less likely to be relinquished.

2. *Influence of group and expert opinion.* Marple's experiments also tend to indicate a correlation between personal belief and group opinion: "Group opinion, *with these groups*, is more powerful in affecting individual agreement than is expert opinion." [14] In certain other studies, however, expert opinion influenced personal belief more than group opinion. Whether group or expert opinion is most influential in determining the strength of personal be-

13. C. H. Marple, "The Comparative Susceptibility of Three Age Levels to the Suggestion of Group versus Expert Opinion," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1933, pp. 4, 176–186.
14. *Ibid.* (Italics ours.)

liefs probably depends largely upon the subject under discussion.

3. *Ability to influence beliefs of others.* A recent study of those who influence and those who are influenced in discussion situations, tends to indicate that those who are the most influential in discussion are least influenced by discussion. Belief-strength, in other words, may be greater when the individual in question possesses certain attributes which are essential in influencing the beliefs of others.[15]

4. *Personal social or economic status.* Certain other correlations with belief-strength suggest themselves when the personal social or economic status of the individual concerned is examined. An individual who does not believe in the income tax, for example, will undoubtedly find that belief strengthened as his own income rises and a greater proportion of it is paid out in taxes. Or the college student who believes in the abolition of the grading system may have that belief strengthened every time he receives a low mark!

5. *Desirability of belief.* Finally, we may refer again to that portion of Lund's studies cited in Chapter IV when a rating of several hundred propositions on scales of "belief strength" and "desirability" gave a correlation in rank between the order for belief and the order for desire of over + .80.

E. Results of Belief Surveys

Reliable studies of the average man's beliefs are few but these indicate an astonishingly high rate of acceptance of proven fallacies in fields as varied as science, economics, psychology, and theology, to say nothing of such pseudo sciences as phrenology, palmistry, and necromancy!

In summary, we may recall again that in dealing with an audience the leader or participant in discussion or debate is dealing not merely with individuals in an audience, alone, but also with intelligence and beliefs as varied as the individuals composing that audience. This fact makes it imperative that he analyze the audience if he is to contribute to an intelligent solution of the problems confronting the group. To a method of analyzing the specific audience with this end in view we are now ready to turn.

15. Ray H. Simpson, *A Study of Those Who Influence and of Those Who Are Influenced in Discussion* (New York, 1938), p. 87.

READINGS

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EXERCISES

1. Prepare a brief statement on what you have learned of the social nature of group organization, illustrating it with references to the group made up by your classmates.

2. Illustrate, with campus groups if possible, the four ways in which group agreements may be reached.

3. Select three beliefs which you hold and prepare a brief statement on each, indicating the probable sources of these beliefs and the reasons why you hold them.

4. Examine past relationships of the following groups to determine if any of the five specific obstacles to intergroup communication discussed in this chapter have been present:

(a) American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organization
(b) American Legion—Communist Party
(c) Ku Klux Klan—southern negro population
(d) Republican Party—Socialist Party
(e) Worker's Alliance—National Association of Manufacturers

5. Prepare and undertake a survey to determine the beliefs and attitudes of members of your class on a problem you are currently discussing.

6. Analyze the results of the belief-survey (exercise 5 above) to determine probable sources and strength of the beliefs recorded.

7. Organize a class symposium-forum, allotting each of four speakers six minutes to discuss one of the following topics:

(a) What is intelligence?
(b) In what ways can intelligence be measured?
(c) What do intelligence tests really measure?
(d) Are intelligence tests valuable in determining social aptitudes?

CHAPTER XV

Analyzing the Specific Audience

We are now ready for the last step in analyzing the listener—studying the specific audience in any given situation. We shall attack this problem first by setting up a method of audience analysis and, second, by showing how this method may be utilized in specific situations. In our next chapter, through a study of persuasion, we will examine the ways in which this analysis may be applied. Thus we will have considered the nature of the specific audience, its wants and its beliefs, and also the means by which we may present a particular problem to that audience so that its members may be motivated to think for themselves and to make rational and valid judgments.

When we speak to an audience we are sometimes addressing *two* fairly distinct groups. The *first* is the general audience, including those who do not recognize the existence of a problem, those who are mildly interested in the particular problem under discussion, those who are well-informed on it, and those who have already made up their minds one way or another. The *second* group includes only those who have reached no decision on the problem, excluding those who have already formed a definite opinion. This part of the whole general audience is made up of what are sometimes called marginal voters, those persons who are "on the fence."

Whether the meeting be a discussion or a debate, the speaker is interested in presenting his views to both groups, although he may on some occasions be primarily interested in speaking to those whose minds are not yet made up. In any case, in preparing for participation in a meeting, it is wise to estimate the approximate proportion of the audience which belongs to the undecided group.

Often all audience members have a direct interest in the outcome of the discussion. In the meeting of a city council, for example, the problem may be stated "What are we (as the elected governors of this city) to do about the relief of the city's unemployed?" Or, if the problem has progressed to the stage of proposing a final solution, a city forum meeting may be presented with the proposition that "We (as voters of this city) should support the proposed tax increase designed to furnish funds to care for the unemployed." In either case the specific audience is an intrinsic part of the problem and represents one of the major factors in its solution.

Because the role of the audience in finding and effecting a solution for the problem at hand is so important, it is necessary that the speaker include an analysis of the audience in his preparation for discussion or debate.

I. A Method of Audience Analysis

To present a method of audience analysis as simply as possible we shall consider it in four separate parts: (a) the problem, (b) the audience, (c) the audience and the problem, and (d) the audience and the speaker.

A. The Problem

1. *What is the problem to be presented in terms of the specific audience?* Obviously few audiences are, or can be, interested in all phases of a problem; hence the first task in audience analysis is to determine what particular phase, or phases, most vitally concern the specific audience. If the problem is one of procuring cheaper electric power in a particular city, the local Chamber of Commerce might be most interested in learning what cheaper power would mean to local industries; an audience of voters would be interested in knowing for which candidates to vote in order to insure that power; while an audience of high-school students might be much more interested in the social implications of the project. To each possible audience, then, a particular phase of the problem is most important and the speaker must discover what that important phase is.

2. *What is the specific purpose in presenting the problem to the*

audience? In discussing the problem of cheaper electric power before a civic forum, for example, the specific purpose may be simply to inform that audience as to the possible benefits of such a power program, or it may be to gain support for a municipal bond issue which would raise the initial capital necessary to procure the power. In any case the approach of the speaker is determined by his selection of the specific purpose in speaking to the specific audience.

3. *How much time is available to accomplish the specific purpose?* This question, all too frequently ignored by discussion leaders and participants, is extremely important. In a half hour, for example, a speaker could not hope to present the need for an enlarged system of cheaper electric power, the social and economic benefits which might result from obtaining such power, and the most desirable method by which the community could procure it. Obviously he must decide which one of these aspects of the problem seems most important and then arrange his presentation of that single aspect to fit his allotted time. When preparing for discussion or debate, the particular aspect of the problem most important to the audience, the specific purpose in presenting the problem to that audience, and the amount of time available for the presentation must all be considered.

B. The Audience

1. *To what general group does the audience belong?* That is, does the audience represent the industrial class, the laboring population, housewives, professional men, small businessmen, or what?

2. *To what specific group does the audience belong?* Because we know that our society is built upon group organization, and that group membership influences beliefs, we must recognize the importance of this and the preceding question.

3. *What are the general characteristics of the audience?* Here we are confronted by a fourfold task:

a. We need to consider the general type of the audience, whether it is made up of homogeneous or heterogeneous individuals, whether they possess similar or dissimilar environmental backgrounds, whether they represent like or unlike cultures, etc.

b. It is also important to determine the general personality type of the audience, not so much for the sake of classifying it as for getting a general picture of its personality characteristics.

c. An effort to discover the educational background of the specific audience will also be of value, not only for making assumptions as to general and specific knowledge, but also for regulating such matters as vocabulary and the complexity of ideas in presentation.

d. An investigation of the common interests of the specific audience, as well as of its common beliefs and prejudices, may also be helpful in determining the presentation by the speaker. The former may aid in the selection of effective motivation; the latter will indicate obstacles which the speaker must avoid or overcome.

4. *What are the specific characteristics of the audience?* Specific characteristics which the speaker may consider are the race, age, sex, nationality, religion, political affiliation, etc., of his audience. These factors may be of considerable importance in determining beliefs and attitudes. To characterize active participation in the search for good government as a great adventure, may be far more effective, for example, with a younger audience than with an older one.

5. *What is the status of the audience in terms of needs and wants?* This inquiry, too, may be important, since we tend to act and believe largely in terms of our needs and wants. An audience drawn from a prosperous and satisfied community, for example, may be less interested in the conservation and rehabilitation of natural resources than an audience drawn from a community whose people lack the benefits which such a program could bring.

C. The Audience and the Problem

1. *What is the interest of the audience in the problem?* This question should be answered at an early stage of the speaker's preparation that he may know where to begin in addressing his audience. In Chapter XII it was pointed out that the first tasks assumed by a speaker are those of securing attention and establishing interest in the problem. To select the best methods of accomplishing these tasks, he must know how much original interest the audience has in the problem. It is also essential that he know whether the audience's interest in his problem is purely academic, or whether it results from a real need or want.

2. *What knowledge does the audience have on the problem?* Knowing this, a speaker may avoid telling the audience too much

of what it already knows, as well as neglecting to give it certain information essential to an understanding of the problem. The speaker should determine, if he can, the sources of the knowledge of his audience: whether it comes from reading newspaper reports, from academic studies, from hearsay, from personal experience, or perhaps from propaganda agencies which may be identified.

3. *What beliefs or prejudices does the audience have concerning the problem?* It is also important for the speaker to have some understanding of the beliefs or prejudices his audience has concerning the problem, since this understanding may be advantageous either in presenting the problem or in avoiding unnecessary obstacles. It will also be helpful to know the sources from which these beliefs and prejudices are derived, i. e., such as propaganda agencies, tradition, environment, experience, etc.

4. *What is the attitude of the audience toward the problem?* The leader or participant in discussion or debate should be acquainted with the attitude of his audience toward the proposition; he may then make his presentation with this information in mind. In general, the attitude of the audience may be characterized by one of the following terms: (a) *favorable*—when the attitude or opinion coincides with that of the speaker; (b) *neutral*—when the audience is doubting or has not yet come to any conclusion concerning the problem; (c) *unfavorable*—when the attitude or belief of the audience is in contrast with that of the speaker. It may sometimes be impossible to reach a definitive conclusion as to the attitude of the audience, and most audiences contain persons representing all three views. But a general characterization may usually be made, based on the results of the previous inquiries.

5. *What is the status of the problem in the thinking of the audience?* To determine more exactly the task confronting the speaker it will be helpful to know how far, if at all, the audience has progressed in its thinking about the problem. This may be determined roughly by answering, as fully as possible, the following questions: (a) Is the audience aware of the existence of the problem? (b) Has the problem been located and defined? (c) Has the problem been fully explored and investigated? (d) Have possible solutions to the problem been suggested? (e) Has any one solution been definitely, or tentatively, chosen? (f) Is the audience primarily in-

terested in securing general acceptance of a selected solution?

6. *What specific objections and difficulties are presented by the attitude of the audience toward the problem?* By way of summarizing this portion of the audience analysis, the speaker should enumerate the specific objections and difficulties he may expect to meet. These, if kept in mind during both his preparation and presentation, should aid him in making a more effective presentation of the problem.

D. The Audience and the Speaker

1. *What is the attitude of the audience toward the speaker?* As important as the attitude of the audience toward the problem is the attitude of the audience toward the speaker. A speaker who has the confidence and trust of his audience can more successfully champion an unpopular cause than one whose competence and veracity the audience questions. This attitude toward the speaker will usually be determined on three separate counts: (a) his qualifications as an authority concerning the facts relevant to the problem; (b) his qualifications as an authority concerning the interpretation of the facts; and (c) the general feeling toward the speaker, a composite impression based upon past acquaintance.

2. *What specific difficulties are presented by the attitude of the audience toward the speaker?* The speaker should summarize the difficulties he can expect to meet with regard to the audience's estimate of him that he may plan to overcome them in the course of the meeting.

These questions represent a practical method of audience analysis. It is possible that certain audience situations or particular problems may demand additional queries to elicit other necessary information. Such additions the speaker should not hesitate to add, for he cannot know too much about the audience he is to address.

To make this method of analysis useful in a more compact form, the individual questions, listed under their respective headings, are numbered consecutively and reproduced below:

A METHOD OF AUDIENCE ANALYSIS

A. *The Problem*

1. What is the problem to be presented in terms of the specific audience?

2. What is the specific purpose in presenting the problem to the audience?
3. How much time is available to accomplish the specific purpose?

B. *The Audience*

4. To what general group does the audience belong?
5. To what specific group does the audience belong?
6. What are the general characteristics of the audience?
7. What are the specific characteristics of the audience?
8. What is the status of the audience in terms of needs and wants?

C. *The Audience and the Problem*

9. What is the interest of the audience in the problem?
10. What knowledge does the audience have on the problem?
11. What beliefs or prejudices does the audience have concerning the problem?
12. What is the exact attitude of the audience toward the problem?
13. What is the status of the problem in the thinking of the audience?
14. What specific objections and difficulties are presented by the attitude of the audience toward the problem?

D. *The Audience and the Speaker*

15. What is the attitude of the audience toward the speaker?
16. What specific difficulties are presented by the attitude of the audience toward the speaker?

II. Application of the Method of Audience Analysis

A few special observations may be made concerning the application of this method of analysis to a specific audience. It has already been said that the speaker may wish to add other queries to those suggested above to make his information about the audience as full and complete as possible. However, in many audience situations it will be impossible to secure sufficient information to answer all of the queries, especially in the case of a strange audience in an unfamiliar community. In such cases it is not to be assumed that it will be impossible to carry on adequate discussion or debate, but the more a speaker knows about the audience he is to address the better able he will be to make the adaptations and adjustments demanded by the specific situation. The ability to make these adaptations and adjustments impromptu, during the speech, comes

only after long practice, if at all. The beginner, then, needs to overlook no opportunity to increase his knowledge of the audience before which he is to speak.

The procedure of securing most of the information desired is self-evident. Where that procedure is not apparent the suggestions which follow may be helpful. Perhaps the best way of securing the information is to talk with people of the same group from which the audience will be drawn. Where this is not feasible, it may be possible to examine copies of the local newspapers, and these should serve as sources of considerable information. The editorial columns and the "letters to the editor" columns, for example, should be helpful in determining what people are thinking about and the general directions which their thought is taking.

Where even these means of analysis are not available, it will be helpful to investigate other groups in other communities which have some similarity to the audience in question. Labor unions, for example, may not everywhere pursue the same policies, and yet an analysis of the labor union groups in one locality may be fruitful in understanding labor union groups in another similar locality.

Two other sources provide current reflections of individual opinions and thoughts. The first is the Gallup Poll of public opinion, a weekly scientific sampling of public opinion on current problems. The reports of this poll, published in the daily newspapers, are usually broken down into regional, political, religious, or occupational statistics. A similar, but less frequent, source of information as to current opinion on important issues is the Quarterly Survey undertaken by *Fortune* Magazine. In addition, many local newspapers have found it profitable to take similar polls of public opinion in their own communities. These and other like sources of information will be helpful in applying the method of audience analysis suggested above.

With this picture of the specific audience established, we are now ready, in the next chapter, to consider ways of applying our analysis of a particular audience in the discussion or debate situation through a study of persuasion.

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Winans, J. A. and Utterback, W. E., *Argumentation* (New York, 1930), Chaps. XI and XII.

EXERCISES

1. Assume that you are going to give a speech advocating the solution you have chosen for the problem selected for intensive study throughout the semester. Draw up an audience analysis for each of three of the following groups to which you might speak:
   (a) your college assembly;
   (b) a Kiwanis Club;
   (c) a labor union;
   (d) League of Women Voters;
   (e) Republican National Convention.

2. In planning for a discussion or debate before this class, draw up a careful analysis of your audience and your fellow participants.

3. Select a men's club in your college community and draw up an analysis of "the audience and the problem" (see Part C in the method of audience analysis presented in this chapter) by means of interviews and other research, for each of the following problems:
   (a) How shall we meet the problem of relief for our local unemployed?
   (b) Should this nation adopt a plan for conscription of wealth in time of war?
   (c) Resolved, that the policies of the Democratic party will best serve the general welfare of the United States.

4. Assuming that you are going to take part in a debate before a public mass meeting in the capitol of a neighboring state, outline the procedure you would follow in securing data for an analysis of that specific audience.

5. Listen to an assigned public speech given on your campus and write a critical evaluation of the apparent judgment of his audience by the speaker.
   (a) In what respects did he seem to err?
   (b) How could his analysis have been improved?
   (c) In what respects was his adaptation to his audience (presumably based upon his previous analysis) especially effective?

CHAPTER XVI

Persuasion

"He who wants to persuade," said Joseph Conrad, "should put his trust not in the right argument, but in the right word . . . Give me the right word and the right accent and I will move the world." Conrad is by no means alone in his belief that one well-placed emotional appeal is more powerful for the average man than a battery of facts and arguments. Advertisers know that appeals to real or fancied wants sell more goods, to all but professional buyers, than objective analyses of composition, durability or comparative costs. Campaign speakers learn to avoid detailed discussions of taxation, foreign relations, and the tariff. Instead, they urge us to beware of appeasers, warmongers, or dictators, and promise peace, prosperity, and justice for all! Directors of public relations reserve argument for the small class of people who depend on logical processes. By every available means of communication, they connect the idea they want adopted with the known desires of their listeners. They are after results and these are the ways to get results.

If logic and argument run a poor second in a race with emotional appeal, why are we devoting most of this book to the process of reflective thinking? Why are we teaching the methods of discussion and debate? Because we believe that decisions based upon the consideration of evidence and the comparison of conflicting arguments are likely to be better than those made under the spell of overpowering emotion. Our government is founded on this belief. Our whole system of legislative delays was designed to give time for the gathering of evidence and the sober second thought that renders less effective the crowd compeller who sways audiences simply by playing on their hopes and fears.

This is not to say that appeals to basic wishes and desires should be discarded. Even if it were possible for a speaker to be entirely intellectual he would have few listeners and fewer converts. Our quarrel is with those who use emotional appeals simply because they are powerful. Such individuals are more dangerous in a democratic society than those who sell stock in nonexistent gold mines. This danger cannot be prevented by establishing a censorship bureau. The remedy lies rather in a more general understanding of the processes of persuasion, and in training speakers who will employ these appeals with due regard for the social consequences.

I. A Definition of Persuasion

The term *persuasion* occurs frequently in our conversation. We use it to designate our attempts to induce others to believe or act in accordance with our purposes. We persuade those whom we have no power to command. The salesman persuades customers to buy his goods; the student persuades his parents to increase his allowance; the minister persuades his congregation to follow the good way. If we use the word in this general sense, a large part of our written and oral communication should be called *persuasion.*

Such a definition is too inclusive to serve our purpose. We have indicated that there are different methods of securing belief or action. One speaker analyzes the problem, organizes evidence to support the points at issue, and then presents his conclusions. This process we call *argumentation.* It demands of the listener the ability and the willingness to weigh the evidence before making up his mind. There is a maximum of argument and drawing of inferences, with a minimum of emotional appeals. Another speaker follows a very different course. He connects his idea immediately, and repeatedly, with the needs, desires, and beliefs of his listeners. His arguments are stated as established facts and supported with vivid illustrations. There is only enough evidence to satisfy those who desire it, and the reasoning is presented in simplified terms. This is *persuasion* in its more extreme form. The best speakers usually follow a middle course, blending argumentation and persuasion in proportions suited to the abilities and tastes of the audience, and to the urgency of the situation in which action is sought.

We have seen that *discussion* begins with a problem and works toward a solution. Those who use *argumentation* and *persuasion* are alike in that they begin with a conclusion, or solution, which they desire others to adopt. The difference lies in the method used in attempting to secure acceptance of the idea. *Argumentation* aims at a delayed, critical acceptance of a proposition, after an examination of the supporting proofs; *persuasion* aims at a more immediate and less critical adoption of the speaker's conclusions. In organization and content, the argumentative speech may be almost as logical as the proof of a geometrical theorem; the persuasive speech is psychological, rather than logical.

Persuasion, then, is *the process of securing acceptance of an idea, or a course of action, by connecting it with the listeners' (or readers') attitudes, beliefs, and desires.* It should be noted that this definition does not exclude the use of evidence and reasoning. But the emphasis is on making the listener want to do what the evidence indicates that he should do. Persuasive speeches are properly used to secure the acceptance of conclusions reached through study and investigation.

II. The Bases of Persuasion

To be successful, persuasion must be based on an understanding of the mainsprings of human motivation. Much of the information essential to such an understanding is found in Chapter IV, "How Individuals Think," and in Chapter XIII, "How Individuals in Groups Think." These chapters should be reread in connection with this statement of the bases of persuasion.

A. We Tend to Believe What We Want to Believe

We want to believe in the rightness of actions that will satisfy our fundamental needs and desires and that individuals standing in the way of satisfying these wants are enemies to be conquered. Various writers have made lists of human desires under such headings as "impelling wants" or "native desires." Poffenberger, for example, believes that these "native desires" can be appealed to in advertising: drink, food, sex, rest and comfort, escape from danger, self-assertiveness and submissiveness, antagonistic desires toward

conforming and being different, parental desire, sociability and shyness, and the antagonistic desire toward exploring the new and having the familiar. Cleanliness, beauty, economy, and hospitality, he considers "acquired desires."[1] The interested reader can find, in books on public opinion and propaganda, other lists of impelling motives and basic wants. While the terminology used is variant, the writers agree that, to an extent determined by such factors as the length of time we have held the belief in question and the urgency of the desire, we tend to believe what we want to believe.

B. We Tend to Believe, and to Do, as We Are Told

Unless we have information to the contrary, we tend to accept what we hear and what we read. In psychological terms, we are suggestible. To the psychologist suggestion means the tendency of an idea to result in an act, or of a stimulus to result in a favorable response, without an interval of deliberation such as would be required for the evaluation of evidence or the weighing of consequences. The listener responds to stimuli created by the speaker, by significant elements in his surroundings, and by fellow listeners. He may also react to stimuli arising within himself, from such sensations as hunger and discomfort, or from his memories of previous experiences.

The listener is particularly susceptible to suggestions coming from a speaker who has acquired prestige. Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, in discussing the "immense importance of prestige in suggestion" call attention to the fact that "two classes of persons appear in general to be effective in giving prestige suggestion, those whom we fear and those whom we love."[2]

Fully as effective as prestige suggestion, in many instances, is what we might call crowd suggestion. Here the stimuli come not from one source, but from many; the individual gets the impression that everyone is doing or saying the same thing. It takes a considerable effort of the will to remain seated when everyone else stands; to applaud when everyone else is expressing disapproval, or to swim against the current of general approval of an idea. As we have seen in another connection, the knowledge that a major-

1. Albert T. Poffenberger, *Psychology in Advertising* (New York, 1925), pp. 53–83.
2. Gardner Murphy, Lois Murphy, and Theodore Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology* (New York, 1937), p. 237.

ity of our fellows hold an opinion is often influential in changing our beliefs, even though we may not get the suggestions directly from these individuals.

Suggestion plays a larger part than we like to admit in shaping our opinions and in determining our actions. The advertiser subjects us to a continued barrage of suggestion. The propagandist uses suggestion almost exclusively. Indeed, propaganda has been defined as "a systematic attempt by an interested individual, or individuals, to control the attitudes of groups of individuals through the use of suggestion and, consequently, to control their actions." [3] But the use of suggestion is not confined to advertisers and propagandists. As A. Lawrence Lowell says, "In most of the affairs of life we are constantly acting upon suggestions without being aware of their origins, or indeed of the fact that we did not frame our conclusions unaided." [4]

C. We Tend to Act in Accordance with Our Dominant Attitudes

The manner in which we tend to satisfy our basic desires is determined, in large measure, by influences in our environments. The desire for recognition may cause one person to become a political boss, and another to lead a crusade to overthrow boss rule. A knowledge of basic drives, or impelling motives, is not enough to enable one to predict what an individual will do in a given situation. A knowledge of his attitudes towards individuals, ideas, and institutions is also necessary.

The word *attitude* is in common usage. We say that a student gets good marks because he has the right attitude toward his work, or that an employer has the wrong attitude toward his employees. Implicit in such statements is our belief in the existence of tendencies to act in accordance with a pattern, compounded of native desires and acquired beliefs. G. W. Allport expresses this idea in his definition: "An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's responses to all objects with which it is connected." [5] Attitudes may be as specific as interest in foot-

3. Leonard W. Doob, *Propaganda* (New York, 1935), p. 89.
4. A. Lawrence Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government* (New York, 1914), p. 17.
5. Quoted in *Handbook of Social Psychology* by Carl Murchison (Worcester, Mass., 1935), p. 906.

ball, or as general as satisfaction with the established order. Each individual has a number of attitudes, usually organized, more or less loosely, into general systems or patterns.

Dominant attitudes are those that are most active at the moment. Some of these dominant attitudes are easily changed; others can be modified only with great difficulty. The persuader is interested in connecting his proposition favorably with the dominant attitudes of his listeners.

D. We Tend to Make Stereotyped Responses to Stereotyped Stimuli

Walter Lippmann used the word *stereotype* to designate what he calls "the pictures in our heads." From what we are told and what we imagine, we have these pictures of many things we have not directly experienced. Often they bear little resemblance to reality, but they influence our conduct, none the less. For example, we have a stereotyped picture of a burglar, a school teacher, a fraternity man, or a reformer. They are stereotyped because the same pictures remain in our minds unless they are modified by direct experience, and because they are common to large numbers of people. Analysis of the stereotypes held by different individuals in the same general environment indicates that they are more likely to be uniform than to be accurate.

The attempt to analyze any situation anew each time it arises would be fatiguing in the extreme. To avoid this expenditure of energy, we learn to make habitual, or stereotyped, responses to stereotyped stimuli. We laugh at the right times, applaud when it is expected of us, and make the usual responses in conversation. Our attitudes tend to become stereotypes. As Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb point out, "Our attitudes towards races, flags, nations, national anthems, and towards the words which crystallize generally accepted values such as freedom, honor, and democracy, tend to be imprinted upon us in more or less *standardized* form." [6] Much of what we think of as first-hand observation is colored by existing stereotypes; much of what we call objective thinking is influenced by them.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 1040.

E. We Tend to Respond to the Emotional Connotations of Words

Our experiences are accompanied by feelings of pleasantness or unpleasantness, of pleasure or pain, in varying degrees. By the process of conditioning, words and other symbols acquire the power of arousing the feelings or emotions which accompanied the original experiences. This is true, whether the words refer to objects as specific as roast beef, or to stereotypes as general as patriotism or tyranny. Thus, we have in our vocabulary two types of emotionally loaded words: those which refer to specific experiences, objects, or persons; and those which designate abstractions, generalizations, judgments, and attitudes.

The use of emotionally loaded words is among the oldest of persuasive methods. The speaker uses "virtue words," to which his listeners will respond favorably, in speaking of his friends or of the cause he is upholding. He refers to opponents and their arguments in terms which arouse unpleasant emotions. He stands for a *righteous* cause, fighting only because he was *forced to do so*, against *cruel, heartless, barbaric* enemies. He is fighting, *without thought of personal gain or glory*, in defense of *justice, human decency*, and *the fundamental rights of man*, against an *unscrupulous aggressor* who does not hesitate to use *lies, to bomb hospitals and churches*, or to *terrorize innocent women and children* in his *selfish lust for power*. His friends are *patriots;* his enemies, *traitors*. It is as simple, and yet as fundamental, as that.

F. We Tend to Yield to the Repetition of Stimuli

Only in rare instances does the first use of a persuasive device produce a favorable response from any large number of listeners. While it is true that we tend to do, or to believe, as we are told, it is also true that the desired response may require an expenditure of energy, or money, that we are not immediately prepared to make. Sometimes, too, the speaker must overcome not only the listener's inertia but, in addition, an attitude varying from skepticism to active hostility. In such cases, the listener may not pay much attention to a single stimulus; any tendency to respond favorably is inhibited by previously acquired habits of reacting in other ways, or by thoughts of what the desired response would mean in terms of failure to satisfy other conflicting desires.

Succeeding stimuli in a series do not encounter the same degree of resistance as did the first. If the repetition is skillful, the listener's attention is increasingly focused on the advantages of responding favorably and distracted from the disadvantages. Furthermore, by the process which the psychologists call "the summation of stimuli," a number of stimuli, repeated at proper intervals, combine to produce a response when no one stimulus in the series acting alone can evoke response. Thus, inertia or negative attitudes are finally overcome and the desired response secured.

III. The Process of Persuasion

Thus far we have discussed the psychology of persuasion in rather general terms. We come now to the problems confronting the individual who is preparing to make what he hopes will be a persuasive speech. He must be able to apply his knowledge to the specific situation. There are four factors which combine to determine the success of a persuasive speech: the prestige of the speaker, the listeners' attitudes towards his proposal, the skill used in constructing the speech, and the circumstances under which it is delivered. A complete analysis of the process of persuasion can only be made when one has full information about the speaker, his topic, his audience, and the occasion. The most that we can do here is to outline the steps which must generally be taken in preparing this type of speech.

A. Acquiring and Using Prestige

We have seen that a speaker's success in persuasion depends, to a considerable degree, on his ability to gain immediate, uncritical acceptance of his ideas. Listeners accept suggestions most readily from speakers who, in their estimation, have prestige. Prestige means the extent to which they regard the speaker as an authority, defer to his judgment, attach importance to what he says. Speakers who have already attained prominence do not have the problem of acquiring prestige; they must simply use to advantage what they have. But college students and unknown speakers cannot expect the same degree of uncritical response. They must gain such prestige as they can, from things said about them when they are

introduced, and from what they do and say in the course of their own speeches.

How can prestige be acquired? Individuals who are elected to office, or who are chosen to speak for an organization, assume importance because they represent others. Thus, we attach significance to the arguments advanced by the head of a "national" organization, even though we may have never heard of it. Knowing this, propagandists sometimes create a society and arrange to have themselves chosen as national president or secretary, to gain the prestige that comes from being the official representative of an important-sounding organization. To a more limited extent, college speakers gain prestige when they are chosen to represent their alma mater. Debaters who appear before off-campus audiences profit by the regard the listeners have for their institutions. Presiding officers often attempt to lend importance to what a speaker is about to say by introducing him as a "recognized authority in his field."

Individuals gain prestige when they have had unusual experiences, or when they have excelled in almost any line of endeavor. Managers of political campaigns believe that a short statement by a famous actor, or prizefighter, urging others to vote for X for president, carries more weight than an endorsement by a professor of political science. Managers of propaganda campaigns take advantage of this popular tendency to accept the views of newsworthy or important people, regardless of their knowledge of the question under consideration, by filling their letterheads with big names, and by getting prominent people to take part in their meetings.

Some of these methods of acquiring prestige cannot be used by college debaters or discussion speakers, even if they wished to use them. What, then, can the student speaker do to gain the confidence of his listeners? He may properly do these things:

1. He can learn to speak as one having authority. While he cannot tactfully say that he knows more about the subject than do his listeners, he can give the impression that he knows his subject by his presentation of evidence and the care with which he draws conclusions.

2. He can make use of prestige suggestion by quoting well-

known authorities who are held in high regard by the audience.

3. He can gain prestige by showing that he represents the view of the majority. Knowing that a majority of the people believe an idea is about as important in influencing opinions as knowing that it is accepted by authorities.

B. Relating the Desired Response to Listeners' Wants and Attitudes

The first step in planning the persuasive speech, after the information has been gathered, is to decide whether it can be shown that adoption of the speaker's proposal would lead to the satisfaction of any fundamental wants or desires. If so, the speech should be so organized as to make repeated reference to this claim; if no such connection can be shown, the speech will probably be ineffective. Some desires are regarded as more praiseworthy than others; the most powerful are those of which we are least proud. There is an understandable tendency for the persuasive speaker to refer casually to these powerful, but generally unadmitted, desires and to stress those that are socially approved.

The next step is to consider both the general attitudes of the audience and their specific attitudes towards the speaker's proposal. Whenever possible, the desired response should be favorably connected with those things in which the listener believes most strongly. If the listeners are already inclined to believe or to do as the speaker desires, his task is to release and reinforce their favorable attitudes. If they are hostile, he must devise ways of breaking down their unfavorable attitudes. He may do this by calling his proposal by a new name and then proceeding to build a favorable attitude towards that new name. When restriction of production became unpopular the government continued almost the same agricultural policies under the caption of a "soil conservation program."

The third step in devising ways of relating the desired response to the listeners' desires and attitudes is to make a list of stereotypes and emotionally loaded words to which the listeners will respond favorably, and another list to which they will give a negative response. The first list is used repeatedly in referring to the speaker's proposal and those who support it; the second, in speaking of the opposition. One of the most effective methods of uniting

people in support of a cause is to unite them against a common enemy. Whether we like it or not, the use of emotionally loaded words is a basic method in persuasion.

C. Constructing the Persuasive Speech

We have already mentioned the necessity of considering the attitude of the audience towards the speaker's proposal. For the favorable audience, the speech should be so arranged as to give the listeners frequent opportunities to applaud enthusiastic statements of their beliefs. The hostile audience must be approached more cautiously. Usually, the best method is to begin with references to accepted attitudes and stereotypes. After the habit of responding favorably to what the speaker says has been established, the listeners may accept ideas that would have been rejected at the beginning of the speech. The material to which they are most hostile should be placed near the end. This is what Overstreet calls the "yes-response technique." For the audience that has no strong attitudes, the logical order of arrangement should be used.

The best information about the style and structure of the persuasive speech can be gained by examining the successful addresses of our great reformers and advocates. The conclusions which follow are the result of such an investigation.

1. The persuasive speaker should talk to his audience on the assumption that he and they are members of a group with like interests and worthy motives, engaged in defeating the efforts of an outsider representing hostile forces. He should address his hearers directly and on a basis of equality. Whenever possible, he should assume that they already agree with him. President Roosevelt's, "You and I know . . ." is a familiar example. Note also, the use of these devices in the beginnings of sentences in the second paragraph of Woodrow Wilson's Second Inaugural Address:

> We have centered counsel and action . . . We are a composite and cosmopolitan people . . . We are of the blood of all the nations . . . We have drawn closer together . . . We have been deeply wronged . . . We have not wished to wrong or injure . . . We wished nothing for ourselves . . . We stand firm in armed neutrality . . . We neither desire conquest nor advantage . . .

2. When the audience is homogeneous and not hostile to the speaker's purpose, he should use vivid illustrations and emotionally

loaded words which refer to specific attitudes and experiences. The specific is usually more interesting, and more persuasive, than the abstract. When the Red Cross tells of women and little children who are cold, hungry, and homeless, or of wounded soldiers who are suffering from lack of medicine and proper care, we want to help them because even to imagine the suffering of others is unpleasant.

3. When the audience is heterogeneous, with conflicting interests and desires, the speaker cannot describe his proposal in detail for fear of arousing opposition. Instead he uses stereotyped phrases which refer to generally approved attitudes and ideas. Suppose, for example, that a candidate for office is attempting to secure the votes of a community containing about equal numbers of farmers, small businessmen and employers, and members of labor unions. The opposition of any one of these groups may defeat him. All are anxious to know his views on measures on which the three groups take different positions. In such situations the speaker almost inevitably talks in general terms, using abstract stereotypes such as *justice for all, a fair day's work for a fair day's wage, settling our differences peaceably about the conference table*, and *taxation based on the principle of ability to pay*. Of course, these phrases will be interpreted differently by listeners with various interests. It is easy to criticize this practice, but difficult to suggest an alternative. Moreover, these abstractions are not meaningless; they represent policies or trends. If the speaker uses them carefully, they reveal his general philosophy from which his hearers can judge how he would act in specific situations.

4. The persuasive speaker frequently asserts that people with desirable qualities or attributes believe as he does; or that individuals with undesirable characteristics take the opposing view. Obviously, the listener wants to be among those "intelligent, fair-minded persons" who agree with the speaker, and the way to be so included is simply to accept his conclusions. Such phrases as "most thoughtful people believe," "this is the intelligent thing to do," "those who love freedom more than self," or, "if you believe this accusation you are not as intelligent as I think you are," illustrate the affirmative use of this device.

5. The persuasive speaker connects his cause with great names and revered institutions. A quotation from Lincoln, or even a

reference to his name is often more persuasive than a direct statement from a living witness. Washington's supposed views on "entangling alliances" kept thousands from supporting the League of Nations. In most persuasive speeches to popular audiences there are quotations from the Bible; the name of the Deity appears in nearly all speeches made in times of crisis.

6. The persuasive speech makes great use of all forms of repetition. Emotionally loaded words and stereotypes are often used in groups of three or four in the same sentence. Note the following example from a speech advocating the amendment of the National Prohibition Act, given by Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, February 18, 1929.

> I assert, Mr. President, that it will not be long until the moral sensibilities of all thoughtful people are awakened to the truth that the prohibitory law is the worst crime ever committed within the borders of the United States. It will not be long until the reign of *hypocrisy*, *cant*, *chicanery*, and *fraud* will come to an ignominious end.
>
> I characterize the prohibitory law as a crime because it violates the principles of natural justice, has brought widespread disrespect for authority, and has become the facile instrument of *graft*, *bribery*, *blackmail*, and *oppression*.

The key phrases, containing the basic appeals to attitudes and desires, are reiterated at frequent intervals. Sometimes, indeed, the main purpose of the speech seems to be that of providing an opportunity for repeating a few simple formulae.

D. Setting the Stage for the Delivery of the Speech

Experienced speakers know that the success of a persuasive speech depends, in large measure, on the surroundings in which it is delivered and on the atmosphere that has been created. Whenever possible, members of the audience should be seated in a compact group so that tendencies to respond may be communicated easily from one individual to another. It is better to have people clamoring for admission than to have a larger audience scattered throughout a large auditorium.

One method of creating a favorable atmosphere is by displaying symbols to which the listener habitually responds. A recent political meeting was held in a hall that was plentifully decorated with

American flags, pictures of the candidates, and pictures of great American statesmen of the same political party. On the platform were a number of noted individuals, including clergymen of various denominations. The meeting was opened with prayer. When this had been concluded, three men in uniform—a sailor, a soldier, and a marine—marched to the platform while the band played "Onward Christian Soldiers" and stood at salute during the singing of the national anthem. After these preliminary exercises, which were in reality an important part of the meeting, the candidate was introduced. We have here an illustration of what the Institute for Propaganda Analysis calls the "transfer device." The object is to transfer to the candidate the favorable emotional attitudes, elicited by the prayer, the flags, the uniforms, and the martial music. The use of the transfer device is not limited to political campaigns. The church has, for centuries, known the effectiveness of religious symbols in creating background and mood for the sermon. The Red Cross, by its very name, transfers to the organization something of the emotions kindled by the religious symbol.

Another method of creating a favorable atmosphere for the speech is to get the members of the audience to do something together. They may join in singing, in reading a ritual, in laughing, or in applauding a familiar sentiment. The church uses music and responsive readings to build the habit of reacting favorably to what the minister suggests. On secular occasions, community singing, applauding, and cheering are commonly employed. If the program is properly arranged, the speaker is introduced as soon as the habit of responding has been established. The speaker should be quick to take advantage of any legitimate opportunities to win applause or laughter in his opening remarks.

IV. Objective Studies in Persuasion

In the chapters on "Evaluating Discussion" and "Evaluating Debate" will be found reports of experiments measuring the effects of discussion and debate on the attitudes of participants and listeners. Here we are concerned with what happens when only one side of an issue is presented. The four investigations summarized in this section are representative, both in methods used and in results obtained, of current research in this field.

In 1934, Wilke reported an experimental comparison of the relative effectiveness of a ten-minute speech delivered in person, the same speech heard over a public-address system, and the same material presented in mimeographed form, in changing the attitudes of college students. Four controversial topics were used; in each case the persuader argued against the existing majority opinion. Attitude tests were given a week before and, again, a week after the students listened to the speeches or read the printed version. The attitudes recorded by subjects in the experimental groups were compared with the attitudes recorded at corresponding periods of time by members of the control group who, of course, did not hear, or read, the attempts at persuasion. The differences in attitude changes between experimental and control groups were not large, but every experimental group shifted its attitudes towards the point of view expressed in the propaganda. The speech delivered in person was decidedly the most effective of the three ways of changing attitudes; the speech delivered over the public-address system ranked second; reading the mimeographed speech produced only slight changes.[7]

The next year, Knower published the results of an elaborate and carefully controlled experiment, designed to compare the relative effectiveness of logical and emotional appeals in changing the attitudes of college students. Four speeches of about 2500 words in length on Prohibition—a dry-logical, a dry-persuasive, a wet-logical, and a wet-persuasive—were especially constructed for use in this experiment. These were heard, or read, by almost a thousand different students. In addition, three hundred others served as controls. After the results of the first attitude tests were available, the students were divided into sections on the basis of their original beliefs on prohibition. Members of each section then heard, or read, sometimes singly and sometimes in groups, a speech that attempted to modify or reverse their existing attitudes. In addition to comparing the relative effectiveness of logical and emotional appeals, Knower was able to study the effect of listening in groups and to note the relationship between strength of initial attitude and the degree of change resulting from the speeches.

7. Walter Wilke, "An Experimental Comparison of the Speech, the Radio, and the Printed Page as Propaganda Devices," *Archives of Psychology* (1934), No. 169.

The findings that bear most directly on the points in which we are here interested are listed below:

Critical Ratios of Changes of Attitude [8]

	Oral Presentation	*Written Presentation*
All initially dry subjects	6.66	3.14
All initially wet subjects	9.38	5.58
Logical appeal to dry subjects	5.47	2.73
Persuasive appeal to dry subjects	4.00	1.33
Logical appeal to wet subjects	6.27	3.81
Persuasive appeal to wet subjects	7.37	4.23

From these data two conclusions are evident: (1) in this instance, there is little difference between logical and persuasive appeals; (2) in every instance, the oral presentation produced greater changes in attitude than did the written. Knower also found that students who heard, or read, the arguments when alone tended to change their attitudes more than did those who heard, or read, them in groups.

The data was analyzed to discover the relationship of initial attitude to the degree and direction of change. Those whose initial attitude was more or less neutral showed the greatest change; those with extreme attitudes tended to move towards more moderate positions, but to remain on the same side of the question; those with moderate attitudes made the smallest proportion of significant changes. In this last group there was a relatively large number of changes in the direction opposite to that of the appeal.[9]

Using somewhat the same experimental procedures, Lull studied the effectiveness of humor in persuasive speeches on the subject of socialized medicine. Four twenty-minute speeches were prepared: two urged the adoption of socialized medicine and two opposed it. Of the two on each side of the issue, one contained humor while the other did not. The speeches were judged equal in all respects save for the presence or absence of humor. Students in

8. A critical ratio is a statistical index of reliability. When the critical ratio, computed on the basis of "standard error," is 2 or greater, the difference is considered significant.

9. F. H. Knower, "A Study of the Effect of Oral Argument on Changes of Attitude," *Journal of Social Psychology*, VI (1935), pp. 315–347. See also *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXX (1936), pp. 522–532; and *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XX (1936), pp. 114–127.

speech classes at the University of Wisconsin and Purdue University served as subjects. Thirty-two different groups listened to one of the speeches; four other groups served as controls. Attitudes were tested two weeks before the speech was heard; immediately after the speech; and, again, three weeks later. The students were asked to rank the humorousness, interestingness, and convincingness of the speech to which they listened.

Lull found that "attitudes towards socialized medicine were changed significantly, in the anticipated direction, as a result of *both* humorous and nonhumorous speeches." The tests taken three weeks after the speech were used as a measure of the permanent effects of the speech. Although there was a regression towards the original attitude in every group, "six out of sixteen groups retained attitudes that represented statistically significant changes" from their original positions on the question. There were no significant differences between the effectiveness of the humorous and nonhumorous speeches in producing either immediate or persistent changes in attitude. The students judged the humorous and nonhumorous speeches to be about equal as far as interestingness and convincingness were concerned.[10]

Willis investigated the relative effectiveness of three forms of radio presentation in influencing attitudes: the straight talk, the complete dramatization, and the talk with dramatized illustrations. Fifteen-minute scripts, in each of the three forms, were written on three different subjects: the treatment of criminals, freedom of speech and press, and the viewpoint of the German people. The three scripts on each subject were matched as to arguments, order of presenting the arguments, difficulty of vocabulary, information, and balance of emotional and logical appeal. The programs were then recorded so the manner of presentation would not vary.

The subjects were 526 high-school juniors and seniors, taking courses in social studies, and 89 members of speech classes at the University of Wisconsin. Attitude tests were given immediately before the programs, the day after, and, again, two weeks later. In addition to taking the attitude tests, the students indicated their preferences among the three forms of presentation.

10. P. E. Lull, "The Effectiveness of Humor in Persuasive Speech," *Speech Monographs,* VII (1940), pp. 26–40.

Willis found that "a fifteen-minute radio program can shift the attitudes of high-school and college students significantly, and this influence persists to a significant degree for a period of at least two weeks." The three forms were equally effective in influencing the attitudes of college students. The dramatization was most effective with the high-school students, followed, in that order, by the combined form and the talk. The combined form was preferred by a large majority of the high-school students, with the dramatization second and the talk third. The college students ranked the combined form, first, the talk second, and the dramatization third. The relation between intelligence and the shift of attitude was negligible.[11]

The finding of these studies, and others not here reported, may be summarized in the following statements:

1. Significant changes in attitude, even on a much discussed subject like prohibition, can be produced by a single speech.

2. Oral presentation is generally more effective than written presentation in changing attitudes.

3. The changes produced by a single fifteen- or twenty-minute presentation persist, with some diminution, for at least two or three weeks. The assumption is that the attitudes thus produced will continue until they are modified by other forces.

4. Knower's evidence on the equal effectiveness of logical and emotional appeals applies only to college students. Willis found that the dramatic form, which is essentially emotional, influenced high-school students to a greater degree than did the talk. In general, emotional appeals are assumed to be more effective. Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb conclude that "other things being equal, experiences which are novel, emotionally charged, and realistic" are most effective in modifying attitudes.

5. With the exception of a few negatively suggestible individuals, the listeners changed their attitudes in the desired direction. The speech that presents only one side of a question is a better method for getting large numbers of people to adopt a desired attitude, than is discussion or debate.

11. Edgar E. Willis, "The Relative Effectiveness of Three Forms of Radio Presentation in Influencing Attitudes," *Speech Monographs,* VII (1940), pp. 41–47.

V. The Question of Ethics

Ever since Plato, himself no mean rhetorician and persuader, intimated that rhetoricians were more concerned with winning, even if it meant making the worse appear the better reason, than with searching for truth, the question of ethics in persuasion has been the cause of misunderstanding and controversy. To Plato's charge, Aristotle replied that persuasion is a skill which can be used for worthy or unworthy purposes. "What makes a man a sophist," he said, "is not his skill, but his moral purpose." The good man should master the art of persuasion, both to enable him to defeat the efforts of unscrupulous opponents and to make him an effective advocate of what he regards as the truth. Aristotle believed that, if the better side of the argument is ably presented, even a skilled persuader cannot long make the worse appear the better reason. "Things that are true," he said, "and things that are better are, by their nature, practically always easier to believe in." [12]

Some of the most frequent comments on the ethics of persuasion grow out of a failure to remember that the persuader is not at the moment searching for truth. He thinks he has already found it and is engaged in the important task of winning converts. As he becomes more engrossed in his cause, he finds it difficult to understand how intelligent people can honestly oppose him. He is sure that his own motives are good; therefore his opponents must either be naïve advocates of the wrong side of the question or, what is worse, individuals who would knowingly mislead others for their own selfish purposes. To him, the difference of opinion tends to become a battle between the forces of right, in which he is enrolled, and the forces of evil which must be exposed and defeated. There can be no compromise; to be neutral is only a shade less reprehensible than to be an actual enemy.

When a speaker believes intensely in his cause, it is useless to expect him to be calm and objective in his advocacy. What he regards as a fair statement will probably seem biased to an opponent; what he regards as logical reasoning may seem to those who disagree with him an unwarranted use of emotional appeals. The

12. Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, Bk. I, 1355a.

reformer inevitably tends to use the most dramatic and convincing proofs at his command. If he talks about opposing arguments, he cannot be expected to state them as strongly or as effectively as someone who believes in them would state them. Only on subjects that do not seem to him vitally important can the persuasive speaker give an argument that minimizes appeal to the basic emotions and desires. And these speeches seem uninteresting to the average listener. To expect what a neutral observer would regard as a logical, objective argument from a speaker who is deeply concerned about the problem, especially in a time of crisis, is to ignore the realities of the situation.

We do not expect a salesman to point out the weaknesses in his product and the merits of his competitor's goods. We know that the representatives of warring nations will stress victories and minimize defeats. We know that speakers during political campaigns will emphasize the achievements of their own party and the failures of others. As long as we know that the speaker is selling an article, representing an organization, or advocating a point of view, we can be on guard against an uncritical acceptance of his conclusions. We want advertisements to be labeled as such; we have the right to expect that the persuasive speaker will tell us whom he represents.

There are certain limits beyond which no persuader, be he advertiser, salesman, or advocate, can go without incurring legal penalties. The advertiser who makes false claims can be prosecuted for fraudulent advertising. The salesman must comply with legislation intended to safeguard the interests of the purchaser. The witness who knowingly makes false statements can be punished for perjury; the speaker who damages the reputation of another, and who cannot prove his charges, can be sued for slander. It is not enough that the speaker stay well within the legal limits in his persuasion. We expect him to be guided by a code of good manners and good morals, to avoid doing anything for which he would criticize an opponent.

How far the end justifies the means in a critical situation when people must be roused to action at once, is a matter on which there will always be real differences of opinion. Each speaker must answer immediately to his own conscience and eventually to those whom he leads or misleads. However, assuming that the speaker

believes in the cause he is advocating, there are certain practices for which there seems to be no possible defense:

1. It is unethical for a speaker to use any sort of persuasive appeal, however effective it may be, when he knows that the action he seeks would not be approved if his listeners studied the facts of the evidence.

2. It is unethical for a speaker to divert attention from weaknesses in his own argument by appeals to hatred, intolerance, bigotry, fear, etc.

3. It is unethical for a speaker to conceal his real purpose, or the organization he represents, or to pretend to be giving an objective treatment of the problem when, in reality, he is an advocate for one point of view.

4. It is unethical for a speaker, in attempting to establish prestige, to pose as an "authority" on matters on which he has only a layman's knowledge or hearsay information.

No code can be legislated or imposed which would relieve the listener of the duty of analyzing the speech and deciding for himself what constitutes valid proof and a legitimate appeal to the emotions. Familiarity with the methods commonly used in persuasive speeches should constitute a valuable part of the listener's equipment for this important task.

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EXERCISES

1. Make a five-minute speech, based on one of the readings listed above. Your purpose is to give information, or illustrations, not contained in this chapter and to comment on any differences of opinion you may find.

2. Make a speech stating and defending your point of view on the advice given, or the ideas expressed, in one of the following quotations. In some instances, you should read the section, or chapter, from which the quotation is taken to be sure that you are interpreting the author's intentions correctly.

(a) "Some imputations we may mitigate by the use of other words: *luxury* will be softened down into *generosity*, *avarice* into *economy*, *carelessness* into *simplicity*, and I shall seek to win a certain amount of favor or pity by look, voice, and action." (Quintilian, *Institutes of Oratory*, Book IV, II, 77.)

(b) "There is nothing of more importance in speaking than that the hearer should be favorable to the speaker, and be himself so strongly moved that he may be influenced more by impulse and excitement of mind than by judgment or reflection. For mankind makes far more determinations through hatred, or love, or desire, or anger, or grief, or joy, or hope, or fear, or error, or some other affection of mind than from regard to truth, or any settled maxim, or principle of right, or judicial form, or adherence to the laws . . ." (Cicero, *De Oratore*, Book II, CXLI.)

(c) "In pleading, my usual method is to fix on whatever strong points the cause has, and to illustrate and make the most of them, dwelling on them, insisting on them, clinging to them; but to hold back from the weak or defective points in such a way that I may not appear to shun them, but that their whole force may be dissembled and overwhelmed by the ornament and amplification of the strong points." (Cicero, *De Oratore*, Book II, LXXII.)

(d) "Wherever you would persuade or prevail, address yourself to the passions; it is by them that mankind is to be taken . . . If you once engage peoples' pride, love, pity, ambition (or whichever is their prevailing passion) on your side, you need not fear what their reason can do against you . . ." (Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son*, letter dated Feb. 8, 1746.)

(e) "We are also to assume, when we wish either to praise a man or blame him, that qualities closely allied to those which he actually has are identical with them; for instance, that the cautious man is cold-blooded and treacherous, and that the stupid man is an honest fellow, or the thick-skinned man a good-tempered one. We can always idealize any given man by drawing on the virtues akin to his actual qualities: thus we may say that the passionate or excitable man is 'outspoken'; or that the arrogant man is 'superb' or 'impressive.' " (Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, Book I, 1367a.)

(f) "In most cases, the masses, intoxicated by the speaker's powers, are hypnotized to such a degree that for long periods to come they see in him a magnified image of their own ego. Their admiration and enthusiasm for the orator are, in ultimate analysis, no more than admiration and enthusiasm for their own personalities, and these sentiments are fostered by the orator in that he undertakes to speak and act in the name of the mass, in the name, that is, of every individual." (Robert Michels, *Political Parties*, 1915, p. 72.)

(g) "If we examine the mental furniture of the average man we shall find it made up of a vast number of judgments of a very precise nature . . . The bulk of such opinions must necessarily be without rational basis, since many of them are concerned with problems admitted by the experts to be still unsolved . . . These beliefs are invariably regarded as rational, and defended as such, while the position of one who holds contrary views is held to be obviously unreasonable." (W. Trotter, *Instinct of the Herd in Peace and War*, p. 36.)

3. Analyze the use of persuasive devices in the following excerpts from speeches that aimed to influence the attitudes and actions of the listeners. What basic desires and attitudes are appealed to? What stereotypes and emotionally loaded words or phrases?

(a) These paragraphs are from the introduction to the Keynote Speech, given by Claude G. Bowers at the Democratic National Convention, Houston, Texas, June 28, 1928.

"The American democracy is mobilized today to wage a war

of extermination against privilege and pillage. We prime our guns against bureaucracy and plutocracy. We march against that centralization which threatens the liberties of the people. We fight for the Republic of the fathers, and for the recovery of the covenant from the keeping of caste and class. We battle for the honor of the Nation, besmirched and bedraggled by the most brazen and shameless carnival of corruption that ever blackened the reputation of a decent and self-respecting people.

"We stand for the spirit of the preamble of the Declaration that is made a mockery; for the Bill of Rights that is ignored; for the social and economic justice which is refused; for the sovereign rights of states that are denied; and for a return to the old-fashioned civic integrity of a Jackson, a Tilden, a Cleveland, and a Wilson. We stand for a restoration of the Government to the people who built it by their bravery and cemented it with their blood."

(b) These paragraphs are from the peroration of Herbert Hoover's address at the Republican National Convention at Cleveland, June 10, 1936.

"There are principles which neither tricks of organization, nor the rigors of depression, nor the march of time, nor New Dealers, nor Socialists, nor Fascists can change. There are some principles which came into the universe along with the shooting stars of which worlds are made, and they have always been and ever will be true. Such are laws of mathematics, the law of gravitation, the existence of God, and the ceaseless struggle of mankind to be free.

"Throughout the centuries of history, man's vigil and his quest have been to be free. For this the best and bravest of earth have fought and died. To embody human liberty in worth-while government, America was born. Shall we keep this faith? Must we condemn the unborn generations to fight again and to die for the right to be free?

"There are some principles that cannot be compromised. Either we shall have a society based upon ordered liberty and the initiative of the individual, or we shall have a planned society that means dictation no matter what you call it or who does it. There is no halfway ground."

(c) This is the closing paragraph of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's address to the special session of Congress which convened September 21, 1939.

"In such circumstances our policy must be to appreciate in the

deepest sense the true American interest. Rightly considered, the interest is not selfish. Destiny first made us, with our sister nations of the Western Hemisphere, joint heirs of European culture. Fate seems now to compel us to accept the task of helping to maintain in the Western world a citadel wherein that civilization may be kept alive. The peace, the integrity and the safety of the Americas—these must be kept firm and serene. In a period when it is sometimes said that free discussion is no longer compatible with national safety, may you by your deeds show the world that we of the United States are one people, of one mind, one spirit, one clear resolution, walking before God in the light of the living."

(d) Here is a paragraph from Woodrow Wilson's war message to Congress, in 1917.

"It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal domination of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other."

4. Now that you have had some practice at detecting the use of persuasive devices in the speeches of others, analyze one of your own speeches from this point of view. If you have not made a speech recently, note your use of persuasive devices in conversation.

5. Hand in a plan for a speech in which you will combine argumentation and persuasion. List the desires and attitudes to which you will appeal and include some of the stereotypes you propose to use.

6. On the basis of the information in this chapter, analyze an intercollegiate debate. Comment on the presence or absence of persuasive methods and on the quality of such persuasion as may be found.

7. On the same basis, analyze a current Congressional debate.

8. Examine the perorations of a number of closing appeals to the

jury by attorneys for the defense. Were appeals to the same basic attitudes and desires used in every speech? If so, why?

9. Make a list of stereotypes that you would use on one of the following occasions:

(a) A speech urging Congress to declare war.
(b) A speech asking the death penalty for a person charged with kidnaping.
(c) A speech in defense of conscientious objectors.
(d) A speech asking another chance for a student dropped from school because of low grades.
(e) A speech advocating public ownership of electrical utilities.

PART IV

Discussion

CHAPTER XVII

The Nature, Purposes, and Limitations of Discussion

This book is based on the thesis that discussion and debate are the essential tools of a democratic society. Thus far we have considered the general principles governing the proper use of these tools. We come now to such questions as these: What is group discussion anyway? What are the different types of discussion and when should each be used? What are the values of discussion? What are its weaknesses? How does one go about organizing the various types of discussion meetings? What are the duties of the chairman or discussion leader? How can he get members started to take part in the meeting and keep them on the subject when they get started? What constitutes a successful discussion meeting?

The next six chapters are concerned with answers to these and allied questions.

I. Nature of Discussion

A. Current Usage of Term

In our everyday talk the term *discussion* is both widely and loosely used. We apply it to chance conversations where the theme is subsidiary to the desire to get acquainted or to pass the time pleasantly, where the talk passes from one topic to another and only by chance lingers long enough anywhere for the thorough consideration of a subject. We say that a speaker discussed a subject when he lectured on it, especially if his aim is to inform rather than to urge

a particular course of action. We say that the audience discusses a lecture when they ask questions of the speaker and he answers them. The term *discussion,* as commonly used, may mean (1) casual conversation, (2) a speech or a lecture, (3) a series of questions and answers following such a speech, (4) a series of speeches on a controversial question, (5) a debate. The need for a working definition is evident.

B. Common Misconceptions

Because a good discussion achieves the informality and the spontaneity of conversation, people often assume that such meetings just happen, without planning or preparation. But if you simply get a number of people into a room, announce that the subject is *strikes,* or *kindergartens,* or *civil service,* and turn the meeting over to them, the result will likely be a series of desultory remarks that begins almost anywhere and ends at about the same place.

Another common misconception is that believers in discussion are advocating talk for talk's sake. The informality of the discussion meeting should not be taken as an excuse for shallow thinking or the repetition of inaccurate information. "Group thinking," says H. S. Elliott, "is not a process by which individuals pool their ignorance with the expectation that desirable results will follow." Even though every member takes an active part in the conversation, even though a unanimous agreement may be reached at its conclusion, a meeting that is really a "pooling of ignorance" should properly be regarded as a failure.

C. Characteristics of Good Discussion

Discussion, as the term is used in this book, should have the following characteristics.

1. *General participation.* Group discussion assumes that each individual may have something of value to contribute to the meeting. Discussion aims to make it possible for each individual to speak as well as to listen. If the group is small, this goal may be attained. The larger the group the larger the number who can participate only as auditors. However, intelligent listening followed by informed action *is* participation.

2. *Informality.* Discussion aims at an organized informality. The seating arrangements should be as informal as circumstances will

permit. If prepared speeches are the best way of getting the discussion started, they should be brief and cast in the language of conversation rather than in the style of formal address. The aim should be to make it easy for the most timid member to take part or for the member who has only a sentence to say to make that contribution.

3. *Purpose.* Discussion is talk with a purpose. The members of the group have come together because they have information or ideas to exchange about some specific problem, or because they want to hear what their fellows have to say about it. Discussion gathers and organizes these individual contributions; it is a project in group thinking.

4. *Planning.* Except for the occasional spontaneous discussions that happen when alert and interested minds meet, discussion requires a leader and a plan. The leader should direct the progress, but not the outcome, of the discussion.

D. Definitions

With these characteristics before us, discussion may be defined as the conversation that results when members of a group gather to share their information and opinions on a topic, or to think through a common problem, usually under the direction of one of their members who serves as leader.

The fact that the discussion method is used with groups of varying size makes the following distinction helpful:

A *group discussion* involves a relatively small number of people, all of whom may take an active part in the conversation. They meet in a face-to-face situation, rather than as a co-acting group where all sit in rows facing a designated speaker. Conversation cannot be successfully carried on in groups numbering more than about twenty members. If many more are present, some will not participate vocally even if there is an opportunity to do so.

A *public discussion* is one that takes place in the presence of a larger audience, not all of whom have an opportunity to speak in the forum period. This classification includes meetings that are open to the general public and those to which only the members of some organization are invited. This is the distinction made by those writers who speak of "open forums" and "closed forums."

There are various types of both group and public discussion

meetings. Descriptions of each type and directions for its use are found in the next chapter.

II. The Purposes of Discussion

Political theorists, primarily concerned with the future of democracy, advocate discussion as a method of group thinking for the intelligent analysis of current problems. Progressive educators think of discussion as a way of applying the activity theory of learning to problems that cannot be dealt with in the laboratories. Thus, the purposes of discussion fall under two heads: (a) training the individual and (b) forming group opinion.

A. Training the Individual

Discussion provides valuable training for the individual when it contributes to one or more of the following purposes.

1. *To stimulate straight thinking and the desire for accurate information.* It is an intellectually healthful exercise for the individual to have his ideas on a subject "exposed and inspected for flaws, since undiscussed information tends to have unsuspected weaknesses in its makeup." [1]

2. *To develop a concise, conversational manner of speaking.* The results of much of our thinking are expressed in conversation. Skill in this type of speaking has practical social values.

3. *To develop the ability to listen accurately.* Many misunderstandings would be avoided if we learned to listen carefully and to report accurately. The person who is about to take part in discussion listens more carefully than would otherwise be the case. If he misquotes someone, the matter is immediately called to his attention.

4. *To overcome timidity or stage fright.* The person who has never spoken out in meeting cannot usually be prevailed upon to give a speech, but he may ask a question or say a few words in response to some inquiry. Participation in discussion is a first step towards daring to speak on more formal occasions.

5. *To learn to criticize and to take criticism without becoming emotionally upset.* It is important that we learn to distinguish be-

1. R. H. Simpson, *A Study of Those Who Influence and of Those Who Are Influenced in Discussion* (New York, 1938), p. 78.

tween criticism of an idea, or an argument, and criticism of the person who expressed it.

6. *To learn the value of compromise.* The person who must have his way at all costs is not a good citizen. Seldom, indeed, is all the truth on one side of a question or all the wisdom possessed by one member of a group. Democracy is based on skill in compromise and on the willingness of the citizens to abide by the result.

7. *To train leaders of discussion.* One purpose of school discussions is to train students for positions of leadership in public affairs.

B. Forming Group Opinion

The ideal discussion would take place if a group of intelligent people, without prejudices or preconceived ideas on the subject, began at the beginning of the process of analyzing a problem and talked their way through to a conclusion. Actually, this seldom happens. Some members of the group usually have solutions ready to propose; all members inevitably come with some background of information and prejudice. The discussion method is sometimes used by those who are interested in presenting only one side of an issue.

A survey of the various types of discussion meetings indicates that they are designed to serve one or more of the following purposes.

1. *To exchange information.* When a group begins the consideration of a topic the first step should be the pooling of the information already in the possession of members of the group. This purpose is best served when a considerable number of the group have had some first-hand experience with the problem. Each of these members is a source of information from whom the rest may learn. If the problem is serious or complicated, an entire meeting profitably might be devoted to this preliminary analysis. Of course, if no one present really knows anything about the topic, discussion should not begin; it could result only in an interchange of guesses.

2. *To arrive at decisions.* This may be the second or third meeting in a series, with the previous sessions devoted to analyzing the problem and considering the relative merits of different solutions. Sometimes, when this stage in the thought process is reached, there is general agreement that one course of action is best. But discussion does not usually result in such unanimity. Intelligent,

honest people often look at the same evidence and arrive at widely different conclusions. In this case, the final stage in arriving at a decision takes the form of a debate, with the advocates of different solutions urging their views upon the members of the group.

This use of discussion is the one in which those who write about the necessity of group thinking in a real democracy are most interested. They point to the fact that the number of problems requiring group action is constantly increasing. It is important that the citizen take an active part in the discussions out of which group action comes.

3. *To form attitudes.* A legitimate, indeed a major, purpose of education is the formation of general attitudes or beliefs. A group may profitably consider the relative merits of fascism and democracy, for example, even though there is no immediate issue on which a decision is needed. Attitudes formed or modified in such a discussion may form the basis for action when the occasion arises.

Sometimes, too, the discussion topic may be one on which group judgment is not necessary. Such topics as "What should be my attitude towards the co-operative movement?", "What factors should I consider in choosing a profession?", or "When is a book worth reading?" are examples. Here, discussion may result in immediate action on the part of some participants, but each is free to act as he thinks best.

4. *To release tensions.* It sometimes happens that factions develop in a society or among the citizens of a community. Various groups hold meetings to assure their members of the justice of their own position and feeling runs high. So long as such a situation prevails, anything approaching the rational consideration of the point at issue is impossible. The first step in effecting a better understanding may well be a meeting of leaders of the factions to explore points of agreement or to see whether joint action may not be possible on some matter not directly involved in the controversy. Early meetings in the arbitration of disputes between employer and employee are of this sort. As tensions are lessened through better acquaintance and the discovery of mutual interests and beliefs, it is often possible to come to an understanding on the points of conflict.

This is a legitimate and valuable use of discussion. Unfortunately, discussions of this general type are sometimes put to less worthy

uses by individuals who wish to preserve the form but not the substance of democratic action. They have a plan they want "to put over." They know that members of the group must be consulted. Instead of helping to set up a meeting for the formulation of a group plan, they raise the problem, without warning, in a general meeting. Under such circumstances discussion is likely to be aimless and, after a time, to seem futile. At this stage a suggestion that the matter be referred to a committee is accepted with a sigh of relief. If the "right people" are then put on the committee, the plan will be reported out and usually acted on favorably. If objection is later made, backers of the plan can always say that the matter was brought up for general discussion. This misuse of discussion should be exposed and condemned.

5. *To "sell" accepted beliefs.* We all have beliefs that, as far as we are concerned, are no longer matters for discussion. We believe them so firmly that we belong to societies and raise funds in an attempt to secure converts. The World Almanac lists nearly 900 national organizations, dedicated to the advancement of some idea or the defeat of another. Many of these societies conduct discussions as one phase of their propaganda efforts.

Is this a proper use of the discussion method? Certainly it is far from the ideal set by those who describe a discussion group as a gathering of people who are willing to lay aside their preconceived ideas, pool their information, and join in a co-operative search for the truth. Any meeting that pretends to present an open, impartial consideration of a problem while, in reality, stressing only the arguments that lead to a predetermined conclusion, should be condemned as heartily as we condemn false advertising wherever it may be found.

There are, however, situations warranting the use of discussion by propaganda organizations. Members of such groups, while in general agreement on the position taken by the society, may still have differences of opinion on minor points. For example, they may differ on the extent to which they would carry their program. These differences may properly be discussed. Members also differ as to the best methods of attaining the goal set by the organization. Discussion can often be used to advantage in evolving a program of work from suggestions made by members or in considering proposals submitted by committees. " A great deal of dis-

cussion," says Leigh, "represents, in reality, adoption by a group of the analysis made in advance by one of its members." [2]

III. Limitations of Discussion

Enthusiastic writers on discussion often are inclined to overstate their case. From them one gets the impression that all formal speeches, lectures, and debates are bad; all discussions, good. With that assumption we cannot agree. Indeed, there is much to be said for Nathaniel Peffer's belief that "We may recruit millions for discussion groups and elaborate the most exact and intricate techniques of discussion and if these people (the discussers) have no knowledge as material for discussion, and no capacity for judgment, they will come out only fortified in what they thought and felt before." [3] This, too, may be an overstatement. The point is that the discussion method has its limitations as well as its values; that there are occasions on which discussion cannot be used profitably and temptations towards loose and inexact thinking which must be combatted.

A. Inherent Limitations

In addition to the obvious limitations imposed by the intelligence of the group, and the amount of information the members may have, the following weaknesses should be noted.

1. *Discussion should not be used when an immediate decision is required.* Discussion is a slow process. In times of emergency, even the most democratic organizations choose an individual, or a committee, and give them power to act.

2. *Discussion is an inefficient method of gaining information on problems new to the group.* If group members know little about the problem, they cannot interchange their ignorance with profit. The first step should be to read books, hear lectures, or conduct investigations. Discussion is not a substitute for individual study and thought.

3. *Discussion is a poor method for considering questions of fact.* As Bryson says, "Facts that have already been discovered and are

2. R. D. Leigh, *Group Leadership* (New York, 1936), p. 20.
3. Nathaniel Peffer, "A Recantation," *Journal of Adult Education*, VII (1935), pp. 125–129.

readily ascertainable by consulting an authority or by simple investigation are not properly the subject of discussion." [4]

4. *Discussion seldom provides an orderly array of arguments for and against a bill or motion.* The very informality of such discussion makes a sustained presentation of an argument difficult. With the exception of the debate-forum, discussion does not offer the listener a clear-cut alternative on which to base his decision. In spite of carefully laid plans, discussions often are dominated by advocates of one point of view to the comparative neglect of others.

B. Common Faults

These faults are probably not inherent in the discussion method, but they occur with such frequency as to warrant our special attention:

1. *Lack of preparation.* Discussion participants do not have the incentive to make as much advance preparation as they would for a speech or debate. Each feels that the others will supply the information he lacks. The invitations to participate often stress the idea that "there are to be no speeches. We're just going to talk things over informally." This too often results in impromptu thinking as well as impromptu speaking, and one's first thoughts are not always his best thoughts.

2. *Concealing real differences of opinion.* The idea that conflict is bad, that if people just talk things over they will agree like birds in their nests, often leads discussion groups to gloss over or avoid sore spots, aspects of the topic on which there are vital differences of opinion. But this does not resolve the conflict. On the contrary, says John Dewey, ". . . it keeps the realities of the situation out of sight. . . . In consequence the triumph of the views of one or of a faction is a sham victory. It has been gained by failing to bring underlying conflicts out into the open. . . ." [5]

The aim of this chapter has been to indicate both the values and the limitations of discussion. Discussion is not a remedy for all the ills of a democracy, but a properly conceived and well-conducted

4. Lyman Bryson, "The Limits of Discussion," *Journal of Adult Education* IX (1937), pp. 261–265.

5. John Dewey, Introduction to A. D. Sheffield, *Training for Group Experience* (New York, 1929).

series of discussions should pave the way for more intelligent action on problems that confront the members of such a society.

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EXERCISES

1. Make an oral report to the class on one of the suggested readings.

2. Prepare to lead a short informal discussion in class on ideas gained from one of the following quotations:

(a) "Let us converse together and open our minds freely to each other. Let every Town assemble. Let Associations and Combinations be everywhere set up to consult and recover our just rights." (Samuel Adams, 1772.)

(b) "Who does the thinking? The notion that 'the group thinks' deserves to be put by the side of the great freaks of philosophy which have been put forth from age to age. Only the elite of any society, in any age, think, and the world's thinking is car-

ried on by them by the transplanting of ideas from mind to mind, under the stress and strain of clashing arguments and tugging debate . . ." (William Graham Sumner, *Folkways,* p. 206.)

(c) "The ideal aim for a group of speakers is to create a 'consensus' on the matter discussed—that is, a conception to which each has contributed and on which all are disposed to act." (Alfred D. Sheffield, *Joining in Public Discussion,* p. xiv.)

(d) "When men are brought face to face with their opponents, forced to listen and learn and mend their ideas, they cease to be children and savages and begin to live like civilized men. Then only is freedom a reality, when men may voice their opinions because they must examine their opinions." (Walter Lippmann, "The Indispensable Opposition," *Atlantic Monthly,* Aug., 1939, p. 190.)

(e) ". . . all losing sides dread discussion, for it shortens their lease on life. Silence is for them a kind of reprieve. Their instinct, then, is to choke off discussion at all hazards. . . . Seeing that no great wrong can long survive open discussion, we may characterize free speech, free assemblage, and free press as the rights preservative of all rights. Safeguard these fundamental rights, and the rest must come." (E. A. Ross, *Social Psychology,* p. 307.)

3. Attend a discussion meeting or read the transcript of a discussion, from the list in the Appendix. Write a short commentary, applying the ideas gained from this chapter.

4. Suppose you are invited to lead a discussion group in your own community. Describe the group briefly, choose a suitable topic, and indicate the purpose of your first meeting.

5. Consider the use of discussion (a) as a propaganda method, or (b) as an antidote to propaganda.

6. What limitations are usually placed on freedom of discussion during wartime? Why?

7. What is the essential difference between discussion and debate?

8. Judging from your own experience, what are the most common weaknesses in discussion?

CHAPTER XVIII

Types of Discussion

Many different kinds of meetings are included under the term *discussion*. While this situation is confusing, it is understandable and, for the present, inevitable. Exactly the same is true of the term *public speech*. Under that heading we include such different utterances as sermons, debates, after-dinner remarks, lectures, commemorative addresses, appeals to the jury, pep talks, etc. We classify speeches in terms of the purpose of the speaker, the occasion on which the speech is presented and the audience for whom it is intended.

The same bases for classification should also be used for discussions. We must consider (a) the purpose of the discussion, (b) the size of the group, (c) how much information group members already have on the subject, and (d) the degree of formality or informality that is desired. The classification which follows is based on these factors.

I. Types of Group Discussion

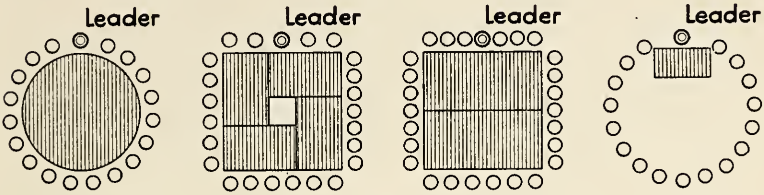
The common characteristics of group discussion are the limited size of the group, the comparative absence of set speeches, and the assumption that members share equally in the meeting and in responsibility for its outcome. We are here concerned with types of discussion meetings that work best with groups possessing these characteristics.

A. Informal Group Discussion or Guided Conversation

Though commonly used, the caption *Informal Group Discussion* is lacking in precision; it might be applied to any type of group discussion conducted in an atmosphere of informality. *Guided*

Conversation is a more accurate name. The name is relatively unimportant if it is understood that we are referring to the discussion that takes place when not more than fifteen or twenty people converse about a subject of mutual interest under the direction of a member designated as leader for that occasion. Members come expecting to take an active part; there are no spectators and no one is set apart from the rest as an authority on the topic.

This type of meeting should be held in surroundings conducive to relaxation and informality. The chairs should be so arranged that each member can see every other member. Some typical arrangements are these:



The spirit of informality is emphasized if everyone, including the leader, remains seated while speaking. Members should refer to each other by name rather than by the more formal, "The gentleman who has just spoken." There should be no set speeches. Individual contributions should seldom exceed a minute in length; the average should usually be less. The transcript of five informal discussions by high-school students shows an average of 90 participations in 28 minutes, or a little over three "speeches" a minute.[1] Random samplings of other informal discussions indicate that this figure is not unusual.

The objective of these informal discussions may be either the sharing of information about the topic or the formulation of a course of action. The first objective will be attained if various members have items of information that may be shared with the others. In that case each member learns from the others and tests his opinions against those of his neighbors. But if the group finds that it has little or no information on the topic, the meeting should adjourn until this defect can be remedied.

The second possible objective is an extension of the first, a group

1. I. Keith Tyler, and High-School Students, *High-School Students Talk It Over* (Columbus, Ohio, 1937).

conclusion based on an interpretation of the information. Sometimes the problem may be one on which members can take individual action: i. e., "Should we join the Y.M.C.A.?" or "Should we subscribe to the Community Chest?" Sometimes the subject is one on which there is no immediate occasion for action, or it may be a topic on which the group has no power to act. In that event, it may communicate its decision to those who do have the authority.

Although the informal group discussion proceeds with a minimum of organization, the chairman should have an outline for use in guiding the conversation. Otherwise, the talk is likely to wander aimlessly. The chairman's outline for a high-school discussion on "The High-School Student Looks at War" follows:

(1) Do you have any evidence that high-school students are really interested in the problem of war?
(2) What sort of an attitude, in general, would you say that high-school students take towards this war problem?
(3) What do high-school students now think the country ought to do to avoid war?
(4) What can you do now if you are really concerned about this problem?

Informal group discussion is an excellent type of meeting for small groups of friends or acquaintances. As is true of most discussions, the success of the meeting depends in large measure upon the leader.

B. The Co-operative Investigation

How can members of a discussion group profitably consider topics on which they have little information? Of course, the first step must be to provide this information in a manner that will not too greatly interfere with the informality of the meeting. One way of doing this has been called the "co-operative investigation." [2]

The subject is chosen well in advance of the meeting. The leader meets with several members who have agreed to take part in a preliminary investigation. The subject is divided into a number of subtopics, and each member undertakes to find information on one of these points. The discussion meeting then begins with a pooling of this information in the form of brief reports, so arranged as to

2. A. F. Wileden and H. L. Ewbank, *How to Conduct Group Discussion* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1935).

provide an orderly consideration of the problem. The leader asks other members of the group to add any information they have gained from their own reading, observation, or direct experience. Aside from the reports of the investigators, the procedure is the same as for the informal group discussion.

Experience indicates a word of caution. It is easy to provide more information than the group can assimilate. A discussion that begins with masses of undigested evidence may fail just as completely as one that lacks information. The investigators should present their findings in as simple a form as is consistent with accuracy. The leader should first make clear the need of information on various points and then introduce the person who has that information. Group members may be given an opportunity to ask questions after each report, but the main body of the discussion should come after all of the reports have been given. At least half of the time should be reserved for this part of the discussion.

C. Committee Meetings

Pure democracy, with all members of an organization participating actively in all of the business, seldom exists, and it should not. To have a large number of people spending time on the careful investigations necessary to understand the background of complicated problems is inefficient and wasteful. The careful writing needed in drafting motions, bills, and reports can best be done by a very few individuals working alone, rather than in the hurried atmosphere of public meetings. Thus, for the study of problems and the formulation of a course of action to be decided upon by the organization, democratic societies resorted early and inevitably to committees.

A committee consists of one or more members, designated by an organization for certain specified duties. We are here concerned only with committees chosen to investigate problems or to recommend courses of action. In either case, action is taken by the organization after the proper opportunity for discussion and debate. The committee members serve as specialists on the subject, answering questions that arise during the discussion and explaining the reasons that underlie their recommendations.

The committee chairman is usually chosen by the organization. If this has not been done, the election of a chairman, under the di-

rection of the member whose name appears first on the list, is the first order of business. Next comes the consideration of steps to be taken in preparing the report. Each member may be assigned a phase of the investigation. If the problem is complicated, considerable time and a number of meetings may be required.

Committee meetings should be informal, following the pattern described for the informal group discussion. The chairman speaks on equal terms with the others. He should not attempt to dominate his colleagues or to run the meeting to suit himself. He should see that the committee keeps working toward its goal, that due attention is given to the contributions of each member and to the consideration of each proposal. Members should not commit themselves on controversial points until they have examined all of the available evidence. When this has been done, differences of opinion as to the course of action to be recommended should be discussed frankly. If these differences are not resolved, the final report will be formulated after debate and a vote in which the will of the majority will determine the action of the committee.

To avoid action without the consideration of majority and minority opinions, the rules of legislative assemblies provide for representation of both major parties on committees. This procedure should be followed by other organizations. It can then be assumed that the committee report represents an effort to harmonize different interests and points of view. If this effort has failed, the minority may propose amendments when the report is considered in the assembly and argue against its final adoption.

D. Conferences

The word *conference* has been applied to meetings of varying sizes and of widely diverse purposes.[3] We here refer to meetings, or a series of meetings, of a relatively small group of individuals selected for their specialized knowledge, or because they represent different points of view on the subject. Thus we have conferences between representatives of employers and employees to adjust conflicts on wages and hours; conferences among heads of different departments in the same organization to make plans and decide matters of common concern; conferences among individuals chosen because of the contribution they may make towards the

3. See Frank Walser, *The Art of Conference* (New York, 1933).

solution of a problem. The purpose of a given conference may be (a) to settle disputes, (b) to formulate a policy upon which all can agree, or (c) to share knowledge without regard to its immediate application.

Conferences resemble committee meetings in informality and general procedure. The point of difference lies in the method of choosing members. The committee consists of members of one organization; the conference brings together representatives of various groups. These members attend as delegates and report the findings to their groups.

The method used in preparing the series of articles published in *Fortune* Magazine, known as the Fortune Round Table, illustrates typical conference procedure. The director of the Round Table is responsible for selecting and securing the acceptances of members of the conference and for the preparation of a memorandum, outlining questions to be considered and presenting significant evidence in condensed form. This memorandum is sent to each member of the Round Table in advance of the conferences. The Round Table group on Transportation had seventeen members, including two railroad presidents, a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, two officials of railway labor organizations, a former Governor, and representatives of water transport, truckers, shippers, and investors. The Memorandum raised questions under nine headings of which the following are typical: [4]

I. Federal Regulation of All Forms of Carriers
   A. Does the Round Table favor extending the principle of federal regulation to water carriers?
   B. Does it believe that, with this change, equality of regulation for all branches of transport will exist?

The Round Table discussed the problem, with its nine main points and thirty-three subsidiary questions for twelve hours. Following this, the director wrote a report, embodying the conclusions of the group. This was submitted to the members for their suggestions and approval and was afterwards published in the August, 1939, issue of *Fortune* Magazine.

In his autobiography, John R. Commons tells how he developed the committee or conference method to determine what might be

4. Memorandum Agenda on Transportation, an unpublished document. By permission of *Fortune* Magazine.

regarded as "reasonable practices" on questions before the Wisconsin Industrial Commission.

> I remember my first committee, the committee on boiler safety. There were a manufacturer of boilers, a manufacturer-user of boilers, an insurance company's inspector of boilers, an employee operating boilers, and the deputy of the Commission, a former locomotive engineer who had been a factory inspector. . . . It required this committee about a year to work out its "boiler code." We considered that if a committee like this, representing several conflicting interests, could unanimously agree upon a code of safety rules, then that code would be considered "reasonable" by the courts. . . .[5]

The success of the conference method depends largely on the extent to which the following conditions prevail:

1. The group must be small. Walser makes the point that there is "a definite psychological limit to the number of persons with whom we can share our best thinking in a personal and useful way." [6]
2. The members should have the same objective and about the same mental capacity and ability in expressing themselves.
3. When the problem is broad, as in the case of the *Fortune* Round Table, the group should represent all the important factions whose interests are involved.
4. The leader or chairman should have an order of procedure ready to suggest but, in so far as possible, such matters should be finally decided by the members of the conference.
5. The conference method takes time, usually requiring a number of meetings. Although tentative decisions may be made during the meetings, final decisions should be deferred until the last session.
6. When the group represents actively hostile interests, it is important to avoid any voting that will put the members on record at the outset as opposing each other.

II. Types of Public Discussion

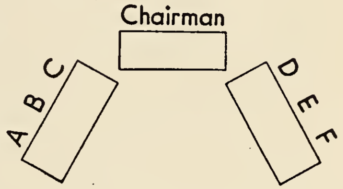
A *public discussion* takes place in the presence of an audience, many of whom come to hear what goes on rather than to take any

5. John R. Commons, *Myself* (New York, 1934), pp. 157–158. By permission of The Macmillan Company, publishers.
6. Frank Walser, *The Art of Conference* (New York, 1933), p. 43.

active part. The procedures are determined, in large measure, by the size of the audience. There is a preliminary discussion among individuals chosen because they have special knowledge of the problem and opinions as to the proper solution. Sometimes the entire meeting is conducted in the form of conversation; sometimes it begins with a series of brief speeches. The last part of the meeting is usually a *forum* in which audience members are encouraged to participate.

A. Panel-Forum

This currently popular form of public discussion was developed by Harry A. Overstreet and first popularized at the 1932 convention of the American Association for Adult Education. The panel is composed of a chairman and from two to six members. Seated on a platform so that they may be seen by the audience, the panel members carry on a conversation among themselves. The chairman guides the conversation so that it follows the steps in an outline on which the panel members have agreed. After the pattern or trend of the discussion has been established, the chairman makes a brief summary and invites members of the audience to join in the conversation. A seating arrangement similar to that indicated in the diagram is recommended. It enables the speakers to see each other and yet seem also to speak to the audience. Timid members should not be placed in the end positions lest they seem excluded from the discussion. Nor should members holding one point of view all be placed on one side of the chairman.



Experience indicates the value of these simple rules:

(1) There should be no formal speeches. The length of each contribution should rarely exceed one minute.
(2) To establish the spirit of informality, the chairman and panel members should remain seated.
(3) Panel members, while addressing their remarks to each other, must include the audience in the conversation and speak loudly enough that those in the rear of the room may hear.

(4) Panel members must listen as well as speak, showing by their facial expression and manner that they are following the discussion.
(5) The chairman should explain at the beginning just what is expected of the audience. Questions designed to clear up points of difficulty at various stages of the discussion may be desired or the audience may be asked to withhold questions and comments until the panel members have developed the pattern of the discussion.
(6) To give the effect of spontaneity, panel members should volunteer comments. If two start to speak at the same time the chairman designates which is to proceed.
(7) About half of the available time should be reserved for the forum period and the concluding summary.

Like most types of discussion, the panel may have either of two objectives. The purpose may be to give the audience a better understanding of the problem or, if the audience is already familiar with the question, to consider the advantages and disadvantages of possible courses of action. Panel members should be chosen after the purpose of the meeting has been determined. The number depends on the nature of the topic, the length of time available for the meeting, and the number of speakers whose services can be secured. Fansler says that those chosen "should be ready thinkers, quick-witted, and have the ability to express themselves easily and clearly. The slow, considering type of thinker, the dominating dogmatist, and the facile chatterbox should be avoided as extremes." [7]

Panels cannot be successfully held without preliminary preparation. The first step is to make sure that the panel members understand the purpose and procedure of the meeting. The group should meet for a preliminary discussion of the topic. After this the chairman should make an outline, indicating the points and the order in which they are to be considered. Each member should agree to introduce one of these points on which he will make special preparation. If possible, the panel should meet again just before the public meeting to make any changes in the outline that have grown out of the investigation since the first meeting.

Common weaknesses of panels are the tendency to wander from the outline, resulting in a seemingly aimless discussion; and the tendency for panel members to make less careful preparation than

7. Thomas Fansler, *Discussion Methods for Adult Groups* (New York, 1934), p. 105.

they would for a speech, resulting in a superficial consideration of the problem. The first can be largely avoided by a skilled chairman; the second, by insistence on the same standards of thinking and speaking as would be required for the lecture or the debate.

The chief values of the panel lie in giving the audience the experience of witnessing good-tempered discussion among people with decided differences of opinion, in the tendency to minimize points of difference that usually results, and in the interest with which we listen to good conversation. The panel is a good way of creating audience interest and of giving preliminary information about a problem. It does not give any speaker the opportunity for a unified and thorough exposition or defense of his point of view.

B. Symposium-Forum

The symposium differs from the panel in the formality of the opening presentation. The participants are a chairman and from two to four speakers. The meeting consists of a speech or statement by each of the speakers, followed by a forum in which audience participation is invited. Like the panel, the symposium may be used either to give the audience information or to consider the relative merits of various solutions to a controversial problem.

Preliminary preparations for a symposium should be in the hands of a committee, or an individual, familiar both with the audience and with the objectives and procedures of discussion. These preparations include:

(1) choosing and phrasing the topic so as to arouse audience interest;
(2) deciding which objective best suits the prospective audience;
(3) choosing speakers in the light of the contribution they can make towards the attainment of this objective;
(4) choosing a chairman who knows how to preside at this type of meeting;
(5) making sure that chairman and speakers understand the objective of the meeting, the time limits, and the general procedure.

If the symposium is to be more than a series of speeches, the chairman must show how each speech contributes to an understanding of the problem. The speakers should construct their talks, not as isolated units, but as phases of the thought process. The purpose of the symposium should be to provide the listener with ma-

terials needed in his analysis of the problem, not to announce conclusions to him.

The most frequent type of audience participation during the forum period is asking questions of the speakers. These questions are usually of three kinds:

(1) requests for further information or for the explanation of points that were not clear to the questioner;
(2) friendly questions, giving a speaker opportunity to support what he has already said;
(3) hostile questions, intended to expose a weakness in a speaker's argument.

Audience participation should not, however, be limited to questions. Listeners should be invited to add information to that given by the speakers and to voice their opinions as to the strength or weakness of arguments presented during the symposium.

The success of a symposium depends on co-operation and understanding among chairman, speaker, and audience. In addition to the suggestions given above, the following rules should be observed:

(1) The chairman should see that speakers know about the time limits and that these limits are observed.
(2) Half of the available time should be reserved for the forum period.
(3) The chairman should attempt to secure some unity of discussion in the forum by directing attention successively to various aspects of the problem.
(4) The audience should agree upon a time limit for speeches from the floor. This usually should be one minute; certainly not more than two.
(5) If the meeting is large, members of the audience should arise and obtain recognition from the chairman before they speak.
(6) If a member has difficulty in framing a question, the chairman should come to his rescue. He should then ask whether he has interpreted the member's intentions correctly.
(7) At the beginning of the forum, the chairman should stress the necessity of speaking loudly enough so that all may hear. Otherwise, members in the front of the room speak in a tone that excludes those in the rear from the discussion.
(8) The chairman should usually arrange for a summary at the end of the meeting. If he does not wish to give the summary himself he should appoint someone who can be relied upon to give an accurate and objective résumé of the meeting.

The speeches in the symposium provide more information and a more unified consideration of the problem than are easily obtained from the panel. The speakers, having a definite subject and time allotment, are encouraged to make careful preparation. The main disadvantage lies in the greater difficulty of securing general audience participation and the atmosphere of discussion after a series of rather formal talks. The symposium is essentially a *public speaking* program; the panel is essentially *conversational*. For this reason, the symposium is better adapted to use before large audiences.

C. Colloquy

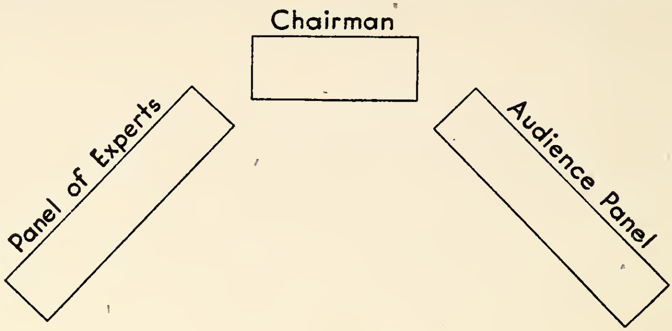
Directors of discussion programs are continually confronted by a dilemma. They believe that members of discussion groups should do their own thinking and make their own decisions. These decisions should be based on evidence and the opinions of specialists constitute valuable evidence. The panel and the symposium provide evidence, but if the panel members and speakers are regarded as authorities, the listeners are likely to be merely listeners and to accept uncritically what they are told. Though this may be partially avoided if the evidence and arguments for different points of view are presented with equal vigor, the fact remains that the thinking of the group attending the panel or symposium is largely conditioned by what has been said by the specialists before the laymen have the opportunity to participate.

There is another difficulty. The more a speaker knows about a subject the more difficult it often is for him to talk in language that his listeners understand or to remember what seemed important to him when he first began his study. Speakers in the panel and the symposium sometimes carry on abstract discussions in semitechnical language that miss the points in which the listeners are most interested.

The colloquy was devised by the American Association for Adult Education to meet these difficulties. First demonstrated at the thirteenth annual meeting of that association, it is described as ". . . a combination of the method known as panel . . . of the general discussion method familiar to forum participants, and of the device used by legal boards and quasilegal bodies in conducting so-called hearings. . . ." [8]

8. Preliminary program announcement of 1938 convention.

The participants include a chairman, a panel chosen from the audience, and another panel of persons who may qualify as expert witnesses on various aspects of the topic. A seating arrangement similar to that indicated in the diagram is recommended. The leader and the panel representing the audience begin the discussion, after the manner of the ordinary panel. The expert witnesses are called upon to supply evidence when the need for it be-



comes apparent and to give opinions when they are desired. It is expected that the audience will also supply evidence and join actively in the discussion from its beginnings.

The colloquy differs significantly from the panel and the symposium in the role that is assigned to the specialist or expert witness. Instead of dominating the meeting and directing the course of the discussion, he is to remain silent until his information, or his opinion, is requested. The audience is supposed to turn to the specialists much as they could consult a book or other source of information. The success of this type of meeting depends on the willingness of the specialist to take this seemingly subordinate role. The colloquy would seem best suited for conventions and other occasional meetings where the specialists are available and the auditors have more than a casual interest in the topic under discussion.

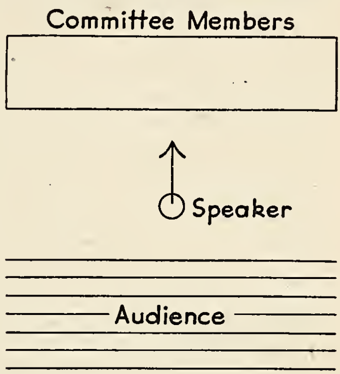
D. Public Hearings

There are two types of legislative hearings in which citizens or their authorized representatives may participate. Both are designed

to bridge the gap that too often exists between the people and their government.

The first type are the public hearings held by legislative committees. These committees may be studying the merits of a bill on which they must report; or they may have been appointed to investigate some matter of public concern. The public hearing is a device for the gathering of information, evidence, and existing opinion that may guide the legislative committee in the formulation of its report. Although the speakers at these hearings are usually designated representatives of organizations or pressure groups, individual citizens may also appear; sometimes, indeed, they are asked to do so.

The chairman of the legislative committee presides at the hearings. After he has stated the purpose and procedure of the meeting, he calls on those who have registered their intention of appearing. If the hearing is on a certain bill, those who favor the passage of the bill are called first; then those who oppose it. The speakers are usually asked to begin by stating whom they represent. The customary speaking arrangement resembles that in the diagram. While the speaker may stand with his back to the audience, addressing his remarks directly to the members of the committee, he is also trying to make a favorable impression on the listeners, whose behavior in turn is likely to influence the committee. The problem is to talk loudly enough so that the audience may hear, without seeming to shout at the committee. Members of the audience have no direct part in the hearing.



Speakers may be questioned by any member of the committee during the course of their talk, or at its conclusion. Since the committee members have presumably not made up their minds on the solution of the problem under investigation, their questions are designed to discover the source and strength of arguments, or to gain information on points not included in the speech. Only occa-

sionally does a committee member show by his questions that he regards the speaker as a hostile witness.

After the public hearing is concluded, committee members go into executive session to consider the information they have gained and to formulate their report.

The second type of public hearing is held by representatives of governmental agencies to determine whether individuals or groups wish to avail themselves of the provisions of existing permissive legislation. For example: Do the members of X community wish to establish a land-zoning project, to improve their schools so that they may get state aid, or to participate in the current federal agricultural program?

This type of hearing usually begins with an explanation of existing legislation by governmental representatives. After the speeches comes a forum in which those present are urged to ask questions to make sure that they understand the legislation and the steps the group must take to come under its provisions. After the group understands the legislation, the next step is to determine whether they wish to do anything about it. Since the governmental representatives usually favor such action, there is some danger that the group may act without due consideration of its disadvantages. This danger can be avoided by deferring action until a later meeting attended only by members of the community.

E. Lecture-Forum

The lecture-forum, one of the most widely used discussion types, consists of a speech by a lecturer who has made a special study of the question, followed by a forum period in which audience members ask questions, add to the information presented, or state their opinions. Sometimes there is a chairman who introduces the speaker and presides during the forum; sometimes the lecturer takes charge of the forum period. Fansler believes that this method is "admirably suited to the presentation of new information, new analyses, and interpretations of known facts, the clarification of issues in almost any field of study. . . ." [9] Many people find listening easier than reading. The lecture gives the speaker opportunity for a unified presentation of his material; the fact that there is to be a forum

9. Thomas Fansler, *Discussion Methods for Adult Groups* (New York, 1934), p. 1.

stresses the necessity of talking directly to his listeners and stimulates them to more than passive listening. Since only one specialist is required for the lecture-forum, it is the easiest type of arrangement.

There are, however, corresponding and serious disadvantages. Lecturers who know enough about a controversial subject to talk about it usually have formed opinions as to the proper solution. They find it difficult, if not impossible, to present the question objectively. The listener, in all probability, gets a speech that supports but one of the possible courses of action. It is difficult to secure lecturers who will give the type of speech best suited to assist the listeners in their analysis of the question. Lecturers are prone to speak as advocates and to end their addresses with an emotional climax that is not conducive to a successful forum period.

Most leaders of lecture-forums agree that it is difficult to get real discussion in the forum period. Too often the audience participation consists of disconnected questions about the lecture. There is little disagreement with what has been said. A listener who would like to challenge the speaker's position hesitates to do so; he knows that in such encounters the speaker has the advantage. The temptation to raise a laugh at the expense of the questioner is very great. The temptation to answer every question with another little speech is one to which many forum-lecturers succumb.

The following suggestions for the conduct of the lecture-forum have been found helpful:

(1) Whenever possible, the speaker should be invited to take his place in the audience at the conclusion of his address. The forum should be in charge of a discussion leader; the lecturer should speak only when there is a direct request for information.
(2) The chairman should invite the audience to express opinions and to add items of information, as well as to ask questions.
(3) The chairman should have a plan for the forum period that will direct the discussion to significant points and see that it does not jump aimlessly from point to point.
(4) The rules governing audience participation for the panel and symposium also apply here.

Mary Ely visited 75 lecture-forums and in only six found what she regarded as real group thinking in the forum period.[10] But she

10. Mary Ely, *Why Forums?* (New York, 1937), pp. 200–213.

believes that the lecture is the most efficient method of presenting new material and that the forum period is important, "rather more because of its effect upon both speaker and audience throughout the proceedings than for anything that comes out of the discussion period itself." With this estimate of the lecture-forum we are inclined to agree.

F. Debate-Forum

When the symposium is limited to two speakers with opposing points of view, the result is a debate-forum. This type might be classified either as discussion or debate. It consists of speeches for and against a proposed solution to a problem, followed by a period for audience participation. A typical schedule follows:

Opening statement about the nature and importance of the question, usually given by the chairman	5 minutes
Speech by advocate of proposed solution	15 minutes
Speech by opponent of proposed solution	15 minutes
Forum period	20 minutes
Summary by opponent of proposed solution	5 minutes
Summary by advocate of proposed solution	5 minutes

The suggestions for the conduct of the symposium are also applicable to the debate-forum.

The advantages of this type of meeting lie in the greater audience interest resulting from the direct clash between two speakers and in the more complete analysis which should result from limiting the scope of the discussion; the disadvantage is this same limitation which may overlook the best course of action. This objection can be met by a series of debate-forums in which the relative merits of various solutions are discussed. The debate-forum should be used only when the audience is familiar with the problem and almost ready to decide what to do about it.

III. Variations and Combinations

Writers on discussion have described a number of different procedures. Not all of these, however, are distinct discussion types; most of them are variations and combinations of the types considered in this chapter. The Des Moines' forums, for example, often combined the panel and the lecture-forum into a lecture-panel-forum with a time schedule about as follows:

Lecture by an authority on the question	20–30 minutes
Panel, i. e., discussion of the lecture by a panel chosen in advance from the audience	15–20 minutes
Forum, i. e., general audience participation	15–20 minutes

Another interesting variation is the Dramatization-Panel-Forum. The meeting begins with a dramatization, or series of brief dramatizations, designed to show the nature and importance of the problem. Then comes a discussion by a panel composed of individuals with specialized knowledge of the question. This is followed by the usual forum period. Sometimes slides or films are used instead of the opening dramatizations. This sequence is valuable when the audience is not especially interested in the topic.

There is no magic in method; the goal always is a meeting that will serve the needs of the audience and the occasion. Those who are planning meetings should use their ingenuity in devising other combinations of the types described in this chapter.

IV. Intercollegiate Discussions

Those in charge of intercollegiate forensics have developed a number of discussion events to supplement the contests in debate, oratory, and extemporaneous speaking. Most of these intercollegiate discussions are similar to the three described here.

A. Public-Discussion Contest

This contest, developed at the University of Wisconsin, resembles both the extemporaneous speaking contest and the problem-solving debate.

The topic, phrased as a question, is announced to the competing schools some weeks in advance of the contest to make sure that the students have time for study and investigation. An outline, similar to the example below, is sent to each participant.

Topic: How much freedom of speech and press should we have?

A. What is the Nature and Extent of the Problem?
   1. What factors in the present situation make this problem important?
   2. What factors in past history are essential to understanding the problem?
   3. What are the basic issues on which our decision should rest?

B. What Should We Do About It?

4. Should we have more freedom than at present?
5. Should certain restrictions be adopted?
6. Is the present situation satisfactory?

Each contestant must be prepared to speak on all of the six subtopics. There are six students in each discussion. Choice of subtopics is made by lot two hours before the contests. Those drawing questions one, two, or three are expected to give expository or analytical speeches that will contribute to an understanding of the problem; those drawing the last three consider directions in which the solution may lie. Speakers on these last three questions are not required to support the alternative they are presenting. They are instructed to explain it and to explain the arguments advanced by its advocates; then they may state their own beliefs with the supporting arguments.

The discussions are about an hour in length. Each speaker has seven minutes in which to present the material called for by the question assigned to him and an additional three minutes, after the first talks are all given, to indicate his agreement with other speakers, comment on what has been said, or advance further arguments in support of his point of view. The chairman introduces the subject and indicates the part each speaker has in the consideration of the problem. The meeting is informal; speakers may remain seated if they choose.

Judges are instructed to rate the speakers on their ability to adapt themselves to what has been said, and on their general contribution to the discussion as a project in co-operative thinking. In a tournament the six speakers represent as many different institutions and the first three advance to the next round.

B. Intercollegiate Forum

Intercollegiate forums are held annually at various institutions. A typical example is the forum held by four colleges in Maine.[11]

The topic is chosen and four points of view, or approaches, selected by a faculty committee. Each institution is invited to send a student speaker to discuss the topic from one of these four points of view. To make sure that all of the four alternatives are presented, assignments are made by lot. Speakers are bound to give a fair ex-

11. D. W. Morris, "The Intercollegiate Forum," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXIV (1938), pp. 212–220.

planation of the solution assigned them, but need not argue for its adoption. The meeting consists of four phases:

(1) A five-minute speech by a student from the host school (not one of the four forum speakers) introducing the topic and explaining its importance.
(2) Seven-minute speeches by each of the four speakers, giving an informative exposition of the problem from the assigned points of view.
(3) Eight-minute speeches in which each speaker states and defends his own convictions and evaluates the solutions advanced by the other speakers.
(4) A period for audience participation.

C. Forensic-Experience Progression

This plan, developed by Professor Elwood Murray at the University of Denver, is really a series of discussions, extemporaneous speeches, and debates in which representatives of various colleges endeavor to analyze a current problem and arrive at a solution.

The Progression held February 15–17, 1940[12] involved five "stages" or series of meetings:

First Stage: Discussion or extemporaneous speeches on the nature, extent, and significance of the problem.
Second, Third and Fourth Stages: Separate discussions on the values and limitations of three courses of action or solutions.
Fifth Stage: Final Discussion on the question, "What can I do to put the best solution into effect?"

At the beginning of the Progression, the participants are divided into groups of six. These groups remain constant for the five meetings. Each meeting, under the direction of a trained chairman, consists of three parts:

(1) A six-minute talk by each speaker giving his original contribution to the meeting.
(2) A period for informal discussion in which members of the audience and panel members question each other and make brief comments.
(3) A four-minute summary by each speaker, commenting on the views of others, defending his own, and, in some cases, telling wherein his convictions have changed.

12. Bulletin of the University of Denver, Dec. 27, 1939.

The judging is done by persons familiar with the discussion method who attend each meeting and fill out a score card or criticism blank, rating each speaker on the following:

Skill in definition, analysis, reasoning	20 points
Skill in finding and presenting evidence	20 points
Skill in evaluating contributions of others	20 points
Skill in group behavior and co-operative thinking	20 points
Skill in effective delivery	20 points

The Legislative Session, described in Chapter XXIII, "Forms of Debate," should also be listed here. Some of the committee meetings held during these sessions should be classified as discussion; others are decidedly debates.

V. Which Type Is Best?

This question is inevitable. It arises as soon as a group or organization decides to engage in discussion. No categorical answer can be given. There is no one best type; each has its special use and value. The best type for a given meeting can be chosen only after you have answered the following questions:

(1) What is the size of the group?
(2) How much information do group members have about the topic to be discussed?
(3) Will the group be willing to devote more than one meeting to each topic?
(4) Are experts or authorities available to give lectures or serve as symposium speakers?
(5) What is the purpose of the meeting? Is it to arouse interest in a problem, to survey all possible solutions, or to consider certain selected solutions more thoroughly?
(6) How familiar is the group with discussion procedures?

READINGS

Judson, L. and Judson, E., *Modern Group Discussion* (New York, 1937), Chap. VI.

McBurney, J. H., and Hance, K., *The Principles and Methods of Discussion* (New York, 1939), Chaps. XVI and XVII.

Nichols, A., *Discussion and Debate* (New York, 1941), Chap. VIII.

O'Brien, J. F., "A Definition and Classification of the Forms of Discussion," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXV (1939), pp. 236–243.

Sheffield, A. D., "Discussion, Lecture-Forum and Debate," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XVIII (1932), pp. 517–531.

Utterback, W. E., "Patterns of Public Discussion in School and in Life," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXIV (1938), pp. 584–589.

EXERCISES

1. Make an oral report to the class on one of the suggested readings.

2. Assume that you are to organize a discussion meeting for an organization in your home community. Describe the organization to the class and discuss with them the type that should be used.

3. Classify as to type any discussions that you have recently attended or heard over the radio.

4. Assume that an organization has decided to hold a series of three discussions on a problem: a debate-forum, a symposium-forum, and a panel-forum. In what order should these meetings be held? Why?

5. Make a speech tracing the origin and development of the term "forum," showing the different types of meetings to which it has been applied.

6. Consider the following as discussion types. If you decide that they come within our definition of discussion, under what classification do they belong:

   (a) the Socratic dialogue,
   (b) the socialized recitation,
   (c) the examination of witnesses,
   (d) the salesman's conversation with a prospective customer.

7. Prepare a four-minute speech that might be used in a campaign to arouse interest in a proposed series of discussion meetings on your campus.

8. Your instructor will arrange a series of discussion programs. Each group should meet to select a subject and to decide which type of discussion should be used.

CHAPTER XIX

The Role of the Leader in Discussion

I. Importance of the Leader

The success of a discussion depends to a very great degree on the work of the leader or chairman. He keeps the discussion moving from point to point, invites the presentation of minority opinions, checks the member who wants to talk all the time, encourages the timid member to express his views, synthesizes the individual contributions into some sort of unity, and in a hundred different unobtrusive ways keeps the meeting moving towards its goal. When he is most effective he keeps the spotlight of attention on others; for this reason the casual observer is likely to underestimate his importance.

II. The Discussion Leader versus the Presiding Officer

At the regular meetings of a club or organization, the president serves as presiding officer. Ability to get on well with others, sufficient knowledge of parliamentary law to enable him to conduct the business meeting, and some skill in planning a program that will please the group, are essentials. If he can briefly and gracefully introduce those who appear on the program and look interested while they are performing, so much the better. But often his work as chairman consists of little more than, "We have with us this evening our eminent district attorney, Mr. John Doe. I am sure he has a message for us." He may not know until he arrives what the

program chairman has provided for the meeting. He is the official announcer of what comes next.

Sometimes special meetings are called in a community to consider problems of current importance. On such occasions, those in charge usually try to get a prominent person to preside. What such a presiding officer says may be of little importance; it is his presence that counts. At other times, the sponsors of the meeting choose a presiding officer who is already committed to the cause the meeting is intended to support. Such a chairman is anxious that his side of the case be given every advantage; he becomes in fact a propagandist for that point of view. If the opposite side is not well presented, he takes the position that this is not his concern. Those who deal with public assemblies know it is a great advantage to have a chairman who is ready to give them the benefit of the doubt.

Quite different is the proper role of the discussion leader. He need not be president of the organization, nor should he be chosen just because of his prominence in the community. And, most certainly, he should not be a propagandist for one side of the problem. He should be chosen for his ability to help others to think cooperatively. He should have faith in the ability of the average citizen to think his way through problems of general policy and arrive at basically sound decisions.

III. Qualifications of the Discussion Leader

In describing the ideal discussion leader, some writers would make him a rare combination of virtues. One list of desirable qualities includes these items: fairness, ability to secure participation, firmness, knowledge of parliamentary procedure, tact, modesty, self-control, courtesy, broadmindedness, originality, emotional control, philosophical outlook, democratic spirit, and sense of humor. These descriptions are subject to two criticisms: the words used are general stereotypes that give little idea of how a modest, courteous, broadminded chairman with a sense of humor, would function in a given situation; they are likely to leave the beginner with the impression that discussion leaders are born, not made, and that he was not born to be one of them.

We hasten to add that the writers of the articles in question would not endorse this conclusion. They are stressing the point

that discussion leadership is a difficult task. While agreeing that only a few will become really great leaders of discussion, they would argue that every group includes in its membership those who can acquire sufficient skill to lead discussions in that group. We agree with this position. Discussion leading is a skill that can be learned by study and practice, in the same way and to the same extent that one can learn to speak in public.

In objecting to the "virtue words" often used in describing the qualities of the good discussion leader, we are not implying that the attempt to state these qualifications is futile. Quite the contrary. In fact, we are about to make our attempt to state them. Discussion leaders will, we believe, be successful in the degree that they possess these qualifications and abilities.

A. Ability to Think and Act Quickly

The person who must have every move planned in advance is sometimes a good public speaker; he may be a good presiding officer for ordinary meetings; but he will be unhappy in leading discussions where the unexpected is always happening. The leader who cannot think and act quickly is just as unsuccessful as the baseball umpire who cannot make up his mind, and is constantly changing his decisions.

B. Ability to Get Along with Others

The discussion leader is attempting to substitute co-operative thinking for listening to the results of others' thoughts. To get this co-operative thinking, he must have a genuine liking for people and ability to sense their reactions. He should be emotionally stable, not easily irritated. Nervous, highstrung, opinionated persons rarely have the patience to be good discussion leaders.

C. Respect for the Opinions of Others

The individual who believes that people have to be "told" is likely to elect himself to do the "telling." Such a person is a troublesome member of a discussion group; he is almost bound to fail as a leader. He knows which is the right side and has little patience with those who disagree. The discussion leader should be a good listener, believing that what others think is important.

D. Willingness to Remain in the Background

The dominating individual who seizes every opportunity to parade his knowledge soon becomes just as unpopular as the quarterback who decides to carry the ball whenever there is a chance for a touchdown. The good leader is pleased when he has stimulated others to active thinking and has woven their contributions to the discussion into some sort of unity.

E. Knowledge of the Objectives of Discussion

This is a basic qualification. It seems strange that anyone would expect to lead others in an activity that he does not himself understand. This is equivalent to believing that any intelligent citizen can umpire a game without knowing the rules, or preside over a legislative assembly without a knowledge of parliamentary law.

F. Knowledge of the Reasoning Process

Meaningful discussion requires as much skill in the selection and evaluation of evidence, as much care in making generalizations and drawing inferences, as is required in the more formal argumentative situations. The leader should have this knowledge and, what is more important, the ability to use it in a meeting without offense to those whose evidence is weak and whose logic is faulty.

These factors should be considered in choosing the discussion leader. Members of a group should not feel discouraged because they fail to find among their members one who is outstanding in all these qualifications. The one who possesses the most likely combination of the qualities should be chosen. Nor should he decline to serve because of his feeling of inadequacy. If he reads about the duties of the discussion leader and observes the work of such leaders in the current radio discussions, his first efforts will at least not be failures, and he will profit by experience.

When the topic for the discussion has been selected, the following questions should be considered if the leader has not already been chosen.

1. *How much does the proposed leader know about the topic?* While the leader should have a good general knowledge of the problem, it is not desirable that he be an authority on the question.

The leader should represent the interested member of the group who raises questions, rather than the expert who answers them. The authority is likely to have decided opinions that might color his work as chairman.

2. *Is the proposed leader open to charges of prejudice?* It would be impossible to find a leader absolutely free from prejudice on the controversial topics considered in discussion meetings. The practical question is whether these prejudices exist to a degree that would make the proposed leader unacceptable to the group. The person who has publicly announced his opinions on a question should not lead discussions on that topic. Even though he may perform his duties with fairness, those with other views may regard him as an opponent, not as an impartial umpire.

Individuals should not lead discussions on topics touching their personal or professional interests. A football coach is obviously prejudiced on the values of football; a college professor, on the question of faculty salaries; a labor leader, on the practices of labor unions. While these individuals may lead discussions within the confines of their own groups, they should participate in public discussion as advocates of their point of view, not as discussion leaders.

IV. Preparing for Discussion

We have repeatedly made the point that successful discussions are the result of careful planning and advance preparations. Some organizations assign the responsibility for these preparations to a committee; others give the leader the same authority that the dramatic director has for producing a play. Sometimes the same leader functions for a series of discussions; sometimes a different leader is chosen for each meeting. Whatever the method, the leader should have an active part in planning the program.

The necessary preparations vary for different groups and different types of meetings. The large public forum may require the full-time services of a director who is responsible for publicity and ticket sales as well as for the conduct of the meeting. For the small neighborhood discussion a large audience is neither expected nor desired. The leader is concerned only with a plan that will give the conversation form and direction. In spite of these differences, there

are also similarities in the leader's preparations for discussion meetings.

A. Choosing the Topic

In some organizations the topics are chosen by a program committee; others provide for an audience poll to make sure that topics of general interest are selected. This is a desirable practice. The first characteristic of a good topic is that it be interesting to the group that proposes to discuss it.

There is often a tendency to avoid local problems and questions on which there are vital differences of opinion. While it may not be desirable to choose a highly explosive topic for a group just learning the discussion method, it does not follow that these topics should always be avoided. Indeed, it is just these problems on which discussion is most needed. The fears that the discussions may produce little except controversy are usually not well grounded. Speakers who differ violently are more inclined to courtesy and good manners in face-to-face discussions than in partisan meetings when the opposition is absent.

B. Supplying Information

The leader should assume some responsibility for providing the group with information about the topic. In the case of panels, symposia, and other public discussion meetings, the speakers are expected to furnish the needed information. But the task is more difficult in informal discussions of a topic on which members do not have authoritative information. In such cases, the leader may provide certain members in advance with books or pamphlets dealing with the problem. Another common device is to distribute items of information among the members and have them read at the beginning of the meeting. The leader should take whatever steps seem feasible to insure a discussion based on adequate and accurate information.

C. Choosing Panel Members or Speakers

The leader should have a part in the selection of these speakers. Otherwise he may find himself in the position of a director who must produce a play with a cast selected by someone else.

In addition to the obvious qualifications of knowledge of the

subject, sufficient skill in speaking, and willingness to be subjected to questioning, that all discussion speakers should possess, there are other matters to which the leader should give attention. If the purpose of the discussion is to learn about the problem, the leader should urge the selection of speakers who will supply different sections of this information. If the purpose is to survey the strength and weakness of alternative solutions, he should see that speakers are chosen who favor the different solutions. An argument should be presented by someone who believes in it. Only in this way can the listener get a fair chance to test its strength.

Moreover, different points of view should be argued by speakers approximately equal in prominence and in skill. It would be unfair, for example, to have a symposium on the current agricultural program in which the case for the program is presented by the Secretary of Agriculture and the opposition by a farmer without official standing. The Secretary of Agriculture should be matched with the head of a national farm organization or with an authority in agricultural economics. The leader should take every precaution to avoid a discussion that, by choice of speakers, emphasizes one side of a controversy.

D. Making a Plan or Outline

For the ordinary discussion meeting, there is no time for discussion of where to begin to discuss. The leader should suggest a discussion outline at the beginning of the meeting. Of course the group should be free to reject it, but a well-prepared outline is usually adopted, though the discussion may depart rather widely from it.

The nature of the outline depends on the purpose of the meeting. The outline will also be influenced by the selection of speakers or discussion participants. It must fit the speakers, as well as the objective of the meeting.

The outline should be based on the steps to be taken in thinking through a problem. The following stock outline will serve to guide the leader in making plans for all sorts of discussions. Few single meetings will cover all steps in this outline.

GENERAL OUTLINE FOR DISCUSSION LEADER

I. *What Is the Nature and Extent of the Problem?*
   A. What background information is necessary to an understanding of the problem?
   B. What is the specific question to be decided?
   C. How serious is the problem?
   D. What factors must be considered in deciding on a solution?

II. *What Solutions Are Proposed?*
   A. What are the advantages of each proposed solution?
   B. What are the disadvantages?

III. *What Is the Group's Initial Reaction?*
   A. On what points does the group substantially agree?
   B. What are the chief differences?
      1. On matters of fact
      2. On matters of opinion
   C. How fundamental are these differences?

IV. *Which Solution, or Combination of Solutions, Seems Best?*
   A. Can a compromise be reached that will meet with general approval?
   B. If not, which solution, after debate, is favored by a majority?

V. *How May the Chosen Solution Be Made Effective?*
   A. What can this group do?
   B. What can I do?

We are now ready to consider the outlines for the various types of discussion meetings. On the basis of the degree and nature of advance preparation, discussions may be divided into the following classes.

1. *Impromptu discussions.* Only the leader makes specific preparation in advance; there has been no selection of group members to take assigned parts in the meeting. Typical examples are the discussions held by small special-interest groups and The People's Platform, a series of radio discussions under the leadership of Lyman Bryson who entertains four selected guests at dinner and directs the conversation on the topic of the evening.[1]

The leader's outline for these impromptu discussions consists of a series of questions which he will throw into the conversation to stimulate the thought of the group and direct it along somewhat logical lines. He usually prepares more questions than can be fully

1. For sample scripts see *Best Broadcasts of 1938–39,* edited by Max Wylie (New York, 1939); also, *Education on the Air, 1940* (Columbus, Ohio, 1940).

treated, knowing that some will be disregarded. He knows, too, that the discussion may take a totally unexpected turn, compelling him to make up a new outline during the course of the meeting. Nevertheless, some plan is better than no plan, and even a discarded outline may serve its purpose in getting the leader to think about the topic.

Here is an outline for discussion on "What Should Be My Attitude toward Intercollegiate Athletics?"

(1) Are we going to include all intercollegiate athletics in our discussion?
(2) What complaints have you heard about intercollegiate athletics?
(3) What first-hand evidence do you have supporting these complaints?
(4) What other evidence have you read or heard about?
(5) What values are claimed for intercollegiate athletics?
(6) What first-hand evidence do you have to support these claims?
(7) What other evidence?
(8) Does it seem that the values outweigh the weaknesses?
(9) Can the weaknesses be remedied, or are they inherent in the system?

2. *Extemporaneous discussions.* In this class are those discussions in which selected speakers make advance preparation, but not to the extent of preparing talks. The discussion begins with *extemporaneous* conversation following an outline, followed by *impromptu* participation by members of the audience.

Whenever possible, these outlines should be developed at a preliminary meeting of the leader and panel members. The first purpose of such a meeting is to make sure that everyone understands its objective and procedure. Then the group should enter upon a discussion of the topic, following the general outline suggested earlier in this section. The method of developing an outline from this preliminary discussion is described by Allen Miller, then director of the University of Chicago Round Table:

> The topical outline . . . is prepared at a preliminary meeting of the round-table team held three or four days prior to the broadcast. After the subject has been decided upon, a number of possible subtopics are indicated, briefly discussed, and then selected for inclusion in the final outline or eliminated from further consideration. The selection is for the purpose of limiting the field of discussion to the three or four most

pertinent phases of the problem. The accepted points are then subjected to a further evaluation, and portions of the broadcast period, appropriate to their relative importance, assigned. The introduction and summary are planned in detail. . . . All three speakers should participate within the first two minutes and should identify one another by name. . . . Throughout the preliminary meeting detailed discussions of subtopics are avoided, with the exception of the introduction, so that differences of opinion will not be settled before the broadcast and so that the enthusiasm and informality of an original performance are not lessened.[2]

After the preliminary meeting each speaker is supplied with a copy of the outline. The participants meet before the broadcast to make any changes that seem advisable, and to begin a preliminary discussion so that the "warming up period" will be over when the program goes on the air. (The Round Table, we may add, is now developing new techniques and procedures.) Too much rehearsal destroys spontaneity, but no rehearsal may mean that the discussion has little but spontaneity. It should be remembered that the speakers on the University of Chicago Round Table are trained speakers with considerable experience in this type of discussion. Beginners should practice this sort of conversation, using other topics or different aspects of the same topic, to avoid the danger of having a stereotyped discussion.

Here are two sample outlines prepared by this method. The first (reproduced by permission) was used on the University of Chicago Round Table program. The form of these outlines may well be used as a model. The figures at the left indicate the time allotment for each point; the names in parentheses, the speaker who is to inject that point into the discussion.

TOPIC: DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP

Speakers: Mr. Brownlow
Mr. Slesinger
Mr. Smith

2:01 I. Introduction
- A. Letter from last week commenting on inadequacy of democracy (Slesinger)
- B. Lincoln's "government of the people" (Smith)

2. Allen Miller, "The Radio Round Table," *Education on the Air, 1933* (Columbus, Ohio, 1933), pp. 99–108.

C. Frequent statements that Roosevelt is a dictator (Brownlow)

2:04 II. Understanding Roosevelt's power through comparison with American presidents of the past

A. Peace-time presidents (Brownlow)
1. Jefferson—General power grant in 1809
2. McKinley—Tariff power

2:08 B. War-time presidents (Brownlow)
1. Growing conviction that this is a crisis comparable to war
2. Lincoln—Usurpation of powers
3. Wilson—Grant of powers

2:12 C. Orient Roosevelt's power in relation to (Smith)
1. The Constitution
2. The Congress
3. The people
a. Aristotle—speaker-state

2:17 III. Compare with dictatorship

A. Dictatorships and presidencies with extraordinary powers both functions of personal equation rather than of situation (Smith)
1. Hoover—Roosevelt

2:19 B. Policy of dictators on (Slesinger)
1. Freedom of speech and press
2. Military enforcement
3. Persecution
4. Enforcement of plans without submission to people
5. Dictators more benevolent than old autocrats
a. Democratic backing before assumption of power
b. Necessity for winning support of people after assumption of power
c. Trusteeship rather than divine grant

2:26 C. Social function of dictatorships (Smith)
1. Telescoping advances in:
a. Culture
b. Industry

2:28 IV. Summary (Slesinger)

The second outline, less pretentious in form, was prepared by a group of high-school students and their leader for a thirty-minute panel discussion. Preparation for the discussion, according to Virginia Sanderson, "took the form of two one-hour sessions."

At the first of these [sessions] the general topic assigned was thoroughly discussed . . . in order to bring out all aspects of the problem, varying points of view, and questions needing further study. From this preliminary discussion, also, a set of five to eight questions was prepared by the leader and discussed at the second meeting. . . .

It was of course necessary that the leader determine the approximate time possible for the discussion of each question, so that the half-hour might not come to an end with some questions left untouched. But points were made extemporaneously, students raising their hands when they wished to speak, and being recognized with a nod.[3]

Here is the outline for the discussion on "Motion Pictures and the High-School Student."

(1) Why do you go to the movies? What do you get out of them?
(2) What effects do movies have on people?
(3) What do you mean by forming prejudices against groups as a result of seeing movies?
(4) Shall we go into the matter of propaganda that was mentioned?
(5) Is the picture of life portrayed by the movies really an honest one?
(6) Perhaps honesty of portrayal is not important; perhaps movies are an escape from reality.
(7) Why do you say that movies are getting better?
(8) What can students do to help continue this improvement?

3. *Discussions beginning with speeches.* The leader's task in preparing an outline is much more simple when the meeting begins with a series of talks or speeches. He knows that he must begin the meeting with a statement of the topic and its importance; that he must make clear, in introducing the speakers, what point of view each represents; that he must give the meeting the effect of unity; and that he must have some plan for the forum period. A sample outline for the co-operative investigation is found in Chapter XVIII. Outlines for the leader's part in the symposium and colloquy usually consist of a series of notations to remind him what to say in introducing each step in the program.

The plan for the conference may be considerably more pretentious. Conferences may consist of a number of discussion meetings considering various aspects of the same central theme or problem. To build the plan for such a conference requires more time than

3. Virginia Sanderson, Introduction to I. Keith Tyler and High-School Students, *High-School Students Talk it Over* (Columbus, Ohio, 1937).

the layman can usually devote to the task and more skill than he can be expected to possess. The United States Office of Education employs a specialist in conference planning.

An example of such a conference is found in the program for the 1938 Convention of the American Association for Adult Education. The central theme was: "What Is the Social Significance of Adult Education?" A series of eight colloquies, each lasting two hours, considered the following questions:

(1) For whom are we working?
(2) Are we giving them what they want?
(3) Who are our leaders and how are they trained?
(4) What degree of freedom is there in adult education?
(5) To what extent do we educate for social action?
(6) Are we overemphasizing method?
(7) How is adult education affected by forms of government?
(8) What are the discernible trends in adult education?

The theme was introduced at the first general session; reports from the eight colloquies were considered in general meetings the last day of the conference. Each colloquy was under the direction of a leader who made the outline for his meeting and attempted to fit the discussion into the larger pattern. The conference was under the direction of a chairman, who presided at all general sessions. The plan of having the same chairman or discussion leader for all general sessions has the advantage of greater continuity and unity.

E. Arranging Mechanical Details

Much of the success of a discussion depends upon details that are often overlooked. The seating arrangement, for example, is important. Small group discussions should be held in rooms where chairs can be so arranged that members can see each other. When the seats are arranged in rows and all eyes are fixed on the platform, it is hard for members to feel that they are expected to be speakers as well as listeners. Public discussion meetings are often held in halls where the seating arrangement is fixed and formal. About all that can be done is to see that chairs and tables are properly arranged for the panel or symposium speakers and that a blackboard is available for use in summarizing the discussion.

Discussion meetings often bog down because there is no agreement about time limits. Those who are giving talks should know

just how long they are to speak and should be stopped when their time has expired. The meeting should begin with an announcement of the length of any opening talks, the length of individual contributions from the floor, and the time of adjournment. A timekeeper should see that the rules are observed.

What about the length of discussion meetings? It is difficult to conduct a panel discussion in which there is audience participation in much less than an hour; an hour and a half is better. The broadcast of America's Town Meeting of the Air lasts an hour. The audience present at the broadcast stays on for another half hour for further and freer discussion. Listening groups hold informal discussions of the broadcast for about the same time. Small groups discussing a subject on which members feel deeply, can maintain their interest for two hours. Walser believes that "this is about as long as the ordinary intelligent mind can concentrate steadily on the same problem." [4]

Discussions in which there is not much audience participation can be held in less than an hour. The University of Chicago Round Table programs are a half hour in length. It may even be possible to have group discussion on a familiar problem in thirty minutes. But discussion tends to proceed slowly. A good speech on a topic can be made in five or ten minutes; it is difficult to have a five- or ten-minute discussion that gets anywhere. A good time to adjourn a discussion is just before the audience has had enough. It is hard to tell when this point has been reached, but the safe procedure is to close the meeting when the time announced for adjournment has arrived. Those who are interested can continue the discussion among themselves.

F. Planning for Group Participation

When the group is accustomed to discussion meetings, little advance preparation is needed to assure group participation. But, when the members do not know what they are supposed to do, they may be slow to do anything, lest they do the wrong thing and reveal their ignorance. To avoid the awkward pause that comes when each waits for someone else to say something, the leader may arrange in advance for certain members to speak from the floor. Or, he may distribute bits of information about the topic

4. Frank Walser, *The Art of Conference* (New York, 1933), p. 82.

to be read and commented on at appropriate points in the discussion. Once members know what they are expected to do and come to feel that their ideas are really desired, they can be counted on to take an active part in the meeting. Indeed, the usual complaint is that too little time is left for the audience.

V. The Leader's Part in the Meeting

To write definite instructions as to what a discussion leader should do in a given situation is as difficult as it is to prepare the quarterback for the emergencies that will arise in his first game. One usually begins by saying "It all depends . . ." What to do does depend on many combinations of factors that the leader must learn to consider in making his decision. Skill in making wise decisions comes with experience. We can, however, give a general description of the leader's part in the meeting and offer some suggestions that have proved helpful to others.

A. Getting the Meeting Started

The leader should set a good example by the directness and brevity of his opening remarks. They should include: a statement of the problem, with a word about its importance; an explanation of the object and plan of the meeting so each person will know when he may speak and for how long; and introductions of the speakers or panel members, telling what knowledge they have and what points of view they represent. If the meeting begins with talks, the leader concludes his opening statement by presenting the first speaker; if it begins with conversation, the leader throws out a question that he hopes will start the discussion.

B. Keeping the Discussion on the Track

Discussion tends to wander off the main road and into bypaths. Sometimes these excursions are interesting and fruitful; sometimes they lead the conversation into totally unrelated fields. The leader will constantly wonder how closely he should attempt to hold the discussion to his prearranged plan. If group members feel that he is dictating the course of the conversation, they will conclude that it isn't really a group enterprise; if the leader sits back and lets the

discussion go wherever chance remarks may take it, he isn't really a leader. On this point Walser says:

> A theoretically minded chairman may overemphasize his outline and seem stiff, complicated, or artificial. A too practically minded one may let the discussion drift and repeatedly forget the whole problem in his sensitiveness to the group's immediate concern.[5]

The problem is to find the golden mean. The leader should be slow to announce to the group that the discussion is off the subject; they may see connections that have not occurred to him and he will have to reverse his decision. Rather, he should raise the question and let the speaker or the group decide.

C. Making Occasional Summaries

An important duty of the leader is to make occasional brief summaries. The summary should be used for any of three purposes: (1) to check needless repetition, (2) to bring the discussion back to the essentials, (3) to register steps of agreement or to record evident disagreement. Summaries should usually be made at transition points.

These summaries should be brief statements, in the language used by the group, of what has taken place. The leader should avoid the temptation to play up one point of view or to assume agreement when none exists. It is not essential to a good discussion that everyone agree. To quote Elliott, "If the group has agreed easily, it probably means it has been doing superficial thinking." The leader can guard against prejudiced or inaccurate summaries by asking the group to check him and to supply missing items.

D. Encouraging General Participation

While it is not necessary that everyone talk in order to have a good meeting, it is important that anyone with something to say be encouraged to say it. The leader who invites the audience to enter the discussion by saying something like this: "The problem is now before you. Does anyone have anything to say?" is not making it easy for anyone to begin. If this is said as though the leader did not really expect anyone to speak, the group will tend to live up (or down!) to expectations. If the leader assumes that there will

5. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

be more discussion than can be gotten into the time available and that the only question is who will speak first, the group may likewise live up to expectations.

Usually the leader should not single out members for individual questions. They may have nothing to say at the moment and this will add to their embarrassment. He may encourage timid members by asking for information he knows they possess. He may encourage general participation by asking for comments from those who have not spoken and by recognizing those that seem ready to speak in preference to more vocal members.

Discussion leaders sometimes begin the forum part of discussions by asking those present whether they have questions to put to the speakers. This implies a listener-learner relationship instead of a project in co-operative thinking. The listeners may have information that should be given; they undoubtedly have opinions and ideas that may be just as valuable as those to which they have listened. The invitation to general participation should be broad enough to include information and arguments as well as questions.

E. Keeping the Discussion from Becoming One-sided

In spite of plans and good intentions, it sometimes happens that a majority of the speakers in a discussion favor one side or point of view. Then the minority, feeling themselves outnumbered and unpopular, are likely to contribute to the one-sidedness by keeping still. The leader should do his best to avoid this by encouraging the presentation of opposing arguments. If necessary he may himself introduce them and follow up by saying that those who make these arguments support them in such and such a fashion. This is a makeshift arrangement, but the main concern is to keep discussions from becoming propaganda meetings.

F. Testing the Information and Evidence

The leader should not be concerned about the conclusion reached by the group, but he should be constantly concerned lest conclusions be drawn from unfounded assertions and insufficient evidence. During the depression, a discussion group was considering the work of the county nurse. Someone started off by saying: "Taxes must be cut and what does the county nurse do, anyhow?" These ideas were reiterated in turn, and almost in the same words,

by everyone present. A resolution was unanimously passed urging that the appropriation for the county nurse be discontinued. Then it occurred to one of the group to look a little more closely into the duties of the county nurse. At the next meeting he reported what he had found. Whereupon, every member of the group said that if he had known these facts he would not have voted as he did. So they passed another resolution rescinding their previous action.

This is not an imaginary instance. The people in question were intelligent citizens. They simply fell into the error of accepting an assertion uncritically, of acting first and investigating afterwards. The leader should have raised questions about the nature, extent, and value of the services rendered by the nurse, and have suggested that no action be taken until this information was available.

G. Remaining in the Background

How can the discussion leader do all these things and yet remain in the background? The answer lies in his ability to make suggestions instead of giving directions, to ask questions instead of answering them. He should refer questions to those members best fitted to answer them.

Many of the leader's suggestions can be made in question form. Here are presented a number of situations that often confront the leader and forms that might be used in asking the questions:

(1) To call attention to a point that has not been considered:
"Has anyone been thinking about this phase of the problem?"
(2) To question the strength of an argument:
"What reasons do we have for accepting this argument?"
(3) To get back to causes:
"Why do you suppose Mr. X takes this position?"
(4) To question the source of information or argument:
"Who gathered these statistics that you spoke of?"
"Who is Mr. X whose opinion has been quoted?"
(5) To suggest that the discussion is wandering from the point:
"Can someone tell me what bearing this has on our problem?"
(6) To suggest that no new information is being added:
"Can anyone add anything to the information already given on this point?"
(7) To call attention to the difficulty or complexity of the problem:

"Aren't we beginning to understand why our legislators haven't solved this problem?"

(8) To register steps of agreement (or disagreement):
"Am I correct in assuming that we all agree (or disagree) on this point?"

(9) To suggest that the group is not ready to take action:
"I wonder if we should not think the matter over and take action at our next meeting?"

(10) To suggest that nothing can be gained by further delay:
"After all, is there any information that we do not have before us?"

(11) To suggest that personalities be avoided:
"I wonder what bearing this has on the question before us?"

(12) To suggest that some are talking too much:
"Are there those who have not spoken who have ideas they would like to present?"

(13) To suggest the value of compromise:
"Do you suppose the best course of action lies somewhere between these two points of view?"

(14) To suggest that the group may be prejudiced:
"Is our personal interest in this question causing us to overlook the interests of other groups?"

The leader should distinguish between questions that call attention to weaknesses in evidence or procedure and leading questions that might influence attitudes on the question itself. Such leading questions and editorializing comments, such as "I am sure we all agree with this forward-looking statement," should be avoided. The skillful leader can, if he wishes, lead a group to the conclusion that he has selected in advance. This temptation should be resisted at all costs.

A common complaint is that discussion leaders talk too long and too often. One leader was chagrined to discover that, in leading informal and panel discussions, he spoke more often than any other person present. A little investigation reassured him somewhat. He found that Lyman Bryson, in presiding over a People's Platform radio discussion, spoke 43 times in 30 minutes; Mr. Sokolsky, 37 times; Mr. O'Rourke, 21 times; Miss Brenner, 16 times; Mr. Miller, 15 times. This made a total of 132 "speeches" in thirty minutes. Furthermore, in the six discussions recorded in *High-School Students Talk It Over*, Mr. I. Keith Tyler, the leader, always spoke

more often than any one of the students. Many of his speeches were very short questions or comments. The nature and length of the leader's comments, rather than their frequency, is undoubtedly the real reason for complaint. The leader who refrains from telling what he knows about every point, should speak as often as it seems necessary to keep the discussion moving smoothly towards its goal.

VI. Handling Special Situations

Certain problems arise so frequently as to merit special treatment.

A. What about the Overly Talkative Member?

Even more of a problem than the silent member is the person who wants to do more than his share of talking. There are three types: (1) the individual who talks easily and, being stimulated by the discussion, has something to say about every point; (2) the long-winded member who thinks the time limits were made for someone else; and (3) the member who regards every meeting as an opportunity to make a speech about his favorite theme.

But what to do? The best way of handling such situations is to deal with them before they arise. If the time limits, and other rules of procedure, are announced at the beginning of each meeting, and if the timekeeper stops the first person who speaks overtime, few hardy souls will attempt to ignore the rules. If a speaker shows no signs of stopping when time is called, the leader should break in with some such remark as, "Thank you, Mr. X. Who else wishes to speak on this point?" As soon as a member heads for a speech about his hobby, the leader should interrupt and ask him to explain the relationship of his speech to the topic under discussion. The member who speaks not too long but too often will usually respond to an indirect suggestion about the desirability of hearing from those who have not spoken. The leader like the judge or umpire, must enforce the rules without favoritism.

B. What about Personal Remarks?

The best way to deal with such situations is to create an atmosphere in which personal attacks will seem out of place and in bad taste. An occasional comment of this sort should be ignored as

pointedly as possible by changing the subject. Members of the group will usually deal with members who persist in attacking individuals rather than arguments. One leader of considerable experience remembers only two occasions when suggestions failed and he had to make direct rulings that certain remarks were out of order. One speaker persisted in questioning the good faith of his opponent; in the other case, a symposium speaker attacked the race and religion of a member of the audience who had questioned him rather pointedly.

One of the most valuable outcomes of discussion is learning to make the distinction between disliking a belief and hating the individual who holds it. Discussion audiences often express surprise that speakers who hold opposite views on vital questions seem to respect, and even to like, each other. The leader may have difficulty in getting active opponents in a controversy to appear on the same platform; once there, they can usually be counted on to carry on the discussion in the spirit set by the leader's opening statement.

C. Should Votes Be Taken?

Many groups have a general rule that no resolutions will be passed and no vote taken on the question. One purpose is to keep pressure groups from attempting to secure public support for their cause. Another purpose is to guard against the tendency, evident in the meeting that discussed the continuance of the county nurse, to vote first and investigate afterwards. An even more fundamental reason is that discussion is not the best method of lining up the arguments for and against a notion; this is best done in debate.

This is not to say that votes should never be taken in discussion meetings. Members of the group may be asked to vote on questions of procedure; some of the summaries are in effect votes when they record agreement; and there are undoubtedly occasions when members are prepared to take a position on the question at the conclusion of a good discussion. We should learn to withhold our decisions until we have heard the evidence; but it is equally important that we learn to evaluate evidence and make tentative decisions. The perpetually open mind is just as bad as the mind that has closed too soon.

There are three steps in preparation for leading discussion meet-

ings. The first is to learn by reading; that step has been taken by those who have read this chapter. The next step is to learn by observing the work of others. The best method is to attend discussion meetings; when this is impossible, one can listen to such broadcasts as The University of Chicago Round Table, America's Town Meeting of the Air, or the People's Platform. Much can also be learned by studying the published transcripts of discussion meetings. The exercises which follow are projects designed to help the student in learning by observing. The third and culminating step is to learn by doing. The student will be given the opportunity to practice leading discussions in the classroom.

READINGS

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Nichols, A., *Discussion and Debate* (New York, 1941), Chap. VII.

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EXERCISES

1. Make an oral report to the class on one of the suggested readings.

2. Attend a discussion meeting, or listen to a broadcast discussion, and focus your attention on the work of the leader. Write a report of your observation, evaluating the leader's part in the meeting in terms of the advice contained in this chapter.

3. Read the published report of a discussion from the list in the Appendix. Prepare a written report, noting how many times the leader spoke, his use of summaries, his use of various types of questions, etc.

4. You are to lead a group of your fellow students in informal dis-

cussion. Hand in your plan for the meeting containing (a) a brief description of the group, (b) the topic and reasons for choosing it, and (c) your outline.

5. You are to lead a panel discussion on a controversial campus problem. Hand in your plan for the meeting including (a) the topic and reasons for choosing it, (b) the list of panel members and reasons for choosing them, (c) preliminary outline such as you might have ready for the preliminary meeting with the panel members.

6. Make a four-minute speech presenting some idea you have gained from reading this chapter. The following topics may serve as suggestions:

(a) Common faults of discussion leaders.
(b) The best discussion leader I know.
(c) Educator or propagandist?
(d) Choosing panel members.

CHAPTER XX

Participating in Discussion

The last chapter stressed the nature and importance of the leader's role; it is of equal importance that the other participants know what they are supposed to do and how to do it. To provide such answers to these questions as can be given without knowledge of the specific discussion situations is the purpose of this chapter.

I. Real Listening Is Participation

The comment that only a few took part in a discussion usually means that only a few spoke loudly enough to be heard by others. Those who make this comment overlook the fact that real listening is an active process. The individual who applauds or hisses may be quite as active, physically and mentally, as his neighbor whose talk causes the demonstration. The active listener is really "talking back" at the speaker, formulating ideas into sentences that he might speak aloud if he had the opportunity. The auditor who does these things is taking an active part in the meeting. To listen actively is the obligation of every group member; to speak is a privilege that may come only to the few.

One of the advantages of discussion is that it stimulates active listening. The Overstreets, speaking of the Town Meeting of the Air, make a point that also holds true for other discussion forms:

> The opportunity to ask questions has an enlivening effect upon an audience. Not one out of a hundred may actually propound a question, but where everyone knows that "question period" means a time of dramatic give-and-take, of sudden surprise, of laughter and approval or of groans and disapproval, listening to the speakers becomes a proc-

ess, not of passive, half-slumbrous acceptance, but of continued, silent challenge. No one in the audience knows but that the lightning may strike, that suddenly a really devastating idea may pop into his head. He will arise and ask it; the speaker will hail its penetrating logic and the audience will applaud! By such small drama are we mortals kept mentally alive.[1]

II. General Rules for Participants in Discussion

There are a number of rules so nearly applicable to all occasions and all participants as to warrant separate treatments.

A. Understand the Purpose and Procedure

The plan for every discussion properly begins with a statement of purpose. The rules governing procedure are adopted with the thought that they will aid in attaining the objective. All participants should have a clear understanding of the meeting's purpose and procedure. Those who are giving talks or serving on panels will get this information at the preliminary meeting with the discussion leader; audience members must get it from the leader's opening statement.

B. Observe the Rule of Relevancy

The courts have the rule that all testimony must be relevant; its bearing on the question at issue must be apparent or provable. Every discussion speaker should apply this rule to his own part in the meeting. First, he should be sure that what he intends to say is on that phase of the general subject announced by the leader. Next, he should ask himself whether what he is planning to say is in accord with the announced purpose of the discussion. Finally, he should be sure that his remarks are relevant *at the moment.*

The speaker can aid the listener to see the general relevancy of what he is saying by references to the purpose of the meeting. Immediate relevancy may be shown by introductory phrases, or sentences, connecting what he is about to say with the point under discussion or with something that has been said by the preceding speaker.

1. Harry A. and Bonaro W. Overstreet, *Town Meeting Comes to Town* (New York, 1938), p. 39. By permission of Harper & Brothers, publishers.

C. Avoid Personalities and Name-Calling

Discussion should take place in an atmosphere of thoughtful consideration in which differences of opinion are neither avoided nor unduly magnified. Such an atmosphere is not likely to be maintained if one speaker calls another a *reactionary* and the other calls him a *communist.* True, a discussion between individuals who have spoken of each other as *labor racketeers, warmongers, cheap politicians,* or *fifth columnists* may arouse interest, but it is the type of interest that prompts people to attend a prize fight, not the type that brings them to a sober discussion of public policy.

This is not to say that all words with unfavorable connotations should be deleted from discussion. To do so would leave it flat and uninteresting. We do not care for the man who is afraid to "call a spade a spade." The discussion speaker, however, should avoid using words that touch off violent emotional responses; those he uses should be applied to arguments rather than to opponents.

D. Question Glittering Generalities

The skilled persuader knows that his audiences do not enjoy the process of thinking, so he does it for them. His speeches are made up of generalizations often supported by "reasons" as broad and sweeping as the conclusions themselves. Thus we may be told that America is still the land of opportunity, that X party is the friend of the forgotten man, that Y party is for personal liberty, or that Z policy is the American way.

We are not condemning the use of these generalizations. Sometimes they are really major premises summarizing long study or the experience of a generation. Without them our thinking and speaking would bog down in a mass of particulars. We are condemning the overuse of these glittering generalities and sweeping statements in discussion. Discussion meetings may well be occasions for re-examining old problems in the light of new evidence, for considering whether the conclusion expressed in a given generalization is sound. Speakers should ask themselves what the generalization means, where and when it originated, why it was accepted. They should neither accept a statement because it is old, nor regard every new idea as progressive.

E. Remember, Discussion Is "Thought in Process"

Even though some members of a discussion group feel that they have found the answer to a problem, they should remember that, by their presence, they have agreed to engage in the process of considering the problem and weighing alternative solutions.

This attitude should be reflected in a tentativeness of statement. Such expressions as "I think," "It seems to me that this is true," "Doesn't this evidence lead to such a conclusion?" are better adapted to the spirit of discussion than a dogmatic assertion that "Every intelligent person knows," or "There can be but one answer." Coupled with the tentativeness of statement, should be a manner of delivery which admits that a person may hold different opinions without being either a knave or a fool. "The tone of voice," says Walser, "may imply a finality which excludes all other solutions. This will only incite the opposition to invent an answer." [2]

F. Use the Language of the Group

Speakers with specialized knowledge concerning the problem for discussion need constantly to remind themselves that effective communication must be couched in the language of the listener. When the speaker has answered the question, "What do I want to say?" he must ask himself, "How can I make it clear to this particular group?" When it seems best to use a technical term, the speaker should see that it is defined or explained.

The language of discussion should be everyday talk; not the kind that we use when we want to show off before strangers. The speaker should think of himself as talking with a group of friends, all in their everyday clothes; he should not worry about how what he says would look in print. Further consideration of the language of discussion is found later in this chapter.

G. Be Conversational

The advice to talk to people as in friendly conversation may seem superfluous; it is included because we have heard panel members who ought to know better make little formal speeches at each other. The delivery in discussion should approach the easy in-

2. Frank Walser, *The Art of Conference* (New York, 1933), p. 110.

formality of the fireside chat. This neither provides a valid excuse for sloppy articulation or mumbled words; nor does it mean that the speaker should talk about important subjects in the tone that he would use for commonplace remarks. It does mean that delivery in discussion should be judged by everyday, utilitarian standards, not as an art form. Inability to make a speech that will move audiences does not excuse one from taking part in discussion.

III. Four Groups of Participants

Aside from the leader, those who participate in discussion may be divided into four classes: (a) members of discussion groups, (b) members of panels, (c) those who give talks, (d) members of the audience who take part in the forum period. The next step is to outline the special duties of individuals in each of these groups.

A. Members of Informal Groups

With the exception of the work done by the leader in planning the discussion, there is usually little specific preparation for these meetings. Since a member may speak or keep silent as he chooses, he does not have the incentive to read or think about the problem before the meeting that he would have were he given a definite assignment. He may read newspaper or magazine articles that come his way, but he is not likely to make a trip to the library. He may even jot down some idea that occurs to him, but he cannot be counted on to sit down for an hour's thought about the topic.

The absence of specific immediate preparation does not necessarily mean the lack of real materials for discussion. If the topic is well chosen, some members may have had first-hand experiences of importance. Parents of college students do not have to go to the library for materials on the effects of college on their children. Things that the individual has observed, articles or books that he has read months before, may constitute real preparation for discussion. When Webster said that he was twenty years in preparing his reply to Hayne he meant he had been thinking about the relation of the states to the federal government for twenty years; the immediate preparation for the speech was limited to a very few hours. Preparation may be no less real because it is not immediate;

not all evidence of value is to be found neatly catalogued in the *Reader's Guide*.

The next step is to consider more closely than we have heretofore what takes place during an informal discussion. From a general picture of the meeting, the role of the individual can be determined. The usual procedure at informal discussions is about as follows:

1. The leader makes a brief opening statement, introducing the topic and concluding with a question or an idea which he hopes will provoke a response.

2. The first person to speak is likely to do one or more of these things:

a. Ask a question about the meaning of some term used in introducing the problem, or about the meaning of the problem itself.

b. Ask a question about the purpose of the meeting, or what type of evidence is sought.

c. Give a bit of information or state his own position on the point raised by the leader.

d. Ask someone in the group for his opinion on the first point.

3. Simpson says that each comment made by the second and by all subsequent speakers will fall into one of these categories:

a. A rebuttal of the preceding point of view.

b. The introduction of new information or evidence.

c. The reiteration of an opinion previously stated by someone else.

d. The admission of a changed point of view or shift of opinion.

e. The recognition of evidence presented by a member of the group, but accompanied by a different conclusion.

f. A question concerning the accuracy or meaning of a particular bit of evidence.

g. An expression of a desire to crystallize the group decision and conclude the discussion of the particular problem involved.

h. A citing of the opinion of an expert.

i. The citing of a particular case favoring the viewpoint of the speaker.[3]

3. Ray H. Simpson, *A Study of Those Who Influence and of Those Who Are Influenced by Discussion* (New York, 1938), p. 8. By permission of Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

This outline tells what the individual may contribute to a discussion. It does not tell him when to speak, how long, or how often. Only the most general advice can be given on these points. It seems obvious that the proper time for a member to speak is when he can add something to the point under discussion. It seems equally obvious that the member who knows a good deal about the topic should speak more often than his neighbor whose knowledge is more limited. The spirit of equality need not extend to equal time allotments.

Transcripts of informal discussions indicate that the average length of individual "speeches" is from fifteen to twenty seconds or from thirty to fifty words. This does not mean that each individual contribution is just that long; some are single words or fragments of sentences; others are a minute or more in length. It does mean that each statement should be as brief and concise as the speaker can make it on the spur of the moment.

Members of informal groups can add greatly to the clarity of the discussion by using phrases or sentences relating what they are about to say to what has just been said, or by making it plain that they are shifting the conversation to another point, for example:

"I disagree with Mr. Blank's statement about the effect of capital punishment on other criminals. I believe . . ."

"Here is another definition of propaganda. Professor Lasswell says . . ."

"I wonder if I may go back to the first part of what you said . . ."

"Do you mean by that statement that a teacher must be a person without any convictions at all?"

"That leads me back to a question we raised at the beginning of the hour . . ."

"I don't know whether this is quite on the point, but I was thinking . . ."

"Not only do we have the right to object to propaganda whose source is hidden, but . . ."

Professor Sheffield has listed some of the individuals who are not popular members of discussion groups.

(1) The member who is always quoting one person's opinion, i. e., her husband, the Constitution, Karl Marx . . .
(2) The person with an emotional fixation on some idea or panacea

which turns him off the main line of thought whenever the pet idea is touched on.

(3) The nervously loquacious person who keeps adding to what he (she) has said, seemingly unable either to improve on the first statement or to stop.

(4) The silent member who sits glumly through the meeting and pronounces judgment to all who will listen after the meeting is over.

(5) The watch-in-hand member, and the person who gets up and leaves in the middle of the meeting.

(6) The person with a prejudice against discussing a certain subject, using a certain word.

(7) The historically minded member who wants to read all the history into the record.

(8) The member who constantly urges people to "be simple" in approaching the most complicated problem.[4]

To this list might be added the member who would make the simplest problem the subject of prolonged discussion, the member who dreads leaving any phase of the discussion because it brings him that much nearer to the time when he must make up his mind, and the overprecise member who keeps checking up on unessential details.

B. Members of Panels

The duties of panel members have received some attention in Chapters XVIII and XIX. That material will not be repeated here.

Individuals who accept invitations to serve on panels assume joint responsibility with the leader and other panel members for the success of the meeting. They are chosen because they have special knowledge of the subject; they often serve as semiofficial spokesmen of the group whose point of view they represent. Their names are announced in the advance publicity. The audience can reasonably expect a degree of preparation and a quality of performance not usually found in the more nearly impromptu speaking of the informal discussion.

Acceptance of an invitation to membership on a panel should imply willingness to attend the preliminary planning meeting and to spend some time in definite preparation. The preliminary meeting, it will be recalled, consists of an informal discussion of the

4. Alfred D. Sheffield, *Training for Group Experience* (New York, 1929), pp. 81–82.

topic out of which the outline for the public meeting is developed. Members who are not present at this meeting have deprived the group of whatever assistance they might have given in planning the discussion and are not prepared to function as members of the panel team.

Because the panel member knows that he is not to make a speech, he may be tempted to slight his preparation for the meeting. This is one of the common weaknesses of panel discussions. The usual alibi is that the member did not know just what type of preparation to make. What preparation can reasonably be expected? First, the panel member should analyze the problem to make sure that he will talk about vital points or issues. If his knowledge is highly specialized, he should see where it fits into the general framework of the discussion. Second, the panel member should be sure that he has available factual information on the points assigned to him; this may be needed both for the panel section of the meeting and to answer questions that may be raised in the forum period. The evidence should be brought to the meeting in a form that makes it readily accessible. Third, the panel member should prepare to comment on the parts of the outline assigned to other members. He may jot down questions designed to test the strength of other points of view and comments that he would like to make on opinions that differ from his own. Preparation for this part of the panel is similar to the debater's preparation for rebuttal speeches.

Let us assume that the panel members, properly prepared, are in their places, each with a copy of the outline before him, and the meeting is about to begin. The presence of an audience makes a good introduction more essential than in the informal group discussion where members come because they are already interested in the topic. The audiences that attend panels may be drawn more by curiosity than by any deep interest in the subject. They are just as impatient when the discussion begins slowly, and seemingly without sense of direction, as are theater audiences during a poor first act.

The first minute or two of the panel discussion has the double task of gaining attention and explaining the subject. An analysis of the University of Chicago Round Table scripts shows the frequent use of almost all the devices used by public speakers in in-

troducing their subjects. While the discussion must proceed from point to point as rapidly as possible, it is usually not enough to state the subject and plunge immediately into a consideration of the first point. Sometimes the topic must be related to the interests of the listeners; sometimes terms require definition. Indeed, one panel was observed when the speakers properly took twelve of their thirty minutes to define their problem. This was a discussion on propaganda and the length of time devoted to exposition and definition was justified because of the current confusion as to the meaning of the word.

To illustrate the methods used in starting panel discussions, we reproduce here the opening sections of two Round Tables. The first was a face-to-face discussion before the opening session of the Institute for Education by Radio, at Columbus, Ohio, May 1, 1939. Since the members of the audience had at least the equivalent of a college education and were already interested in radio, there was less need than usual for definition and explanation.

The Place of Radio in a Democracy

Panel: Louis Wirth, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago
T. V. Smith, Professor of Philosophy, University of Chicago, and Congressman-at-large from Illinois
M. C. Krueger, Professor of Economics, University of Chicago

Mr. Wirth: It is something of a task, colleagues, before an audience of radio experts, to discuss the subject that is their livelihood. I think we might start by pointing out that the radio in itself is an innocent, neutral instrument. It can serve as well to carry the voice of Hitler as to carry the voice of Roosevelt. In one way or another we have been accusing it of all sorts of sins when, as a matter of fact, it appears to be quite devoid of them.

Mr. Smith: It "ain't" ever talked back to us, has it, Wirth?

Mr. Krueger: When you say, Wirth, that it is a neutral instrument, you mean mechanically; it has no particular personality of its own, no particular prejudice. You will not deny, however, will you, that it could acquire those of the people who operate it?

Mr. Wirth: Yes, it is subject to contagion, as every instrument is. Certainly, the invention of new technologies has put new dimensions in our social world, and one group of factors which account for the remaking of the world, it seems to me, is the new ways of communication. They seem to have brought some of our old institu-

tions to the point of stress and strain from which they never seem to have suffered before.

Mr. Smith: Communication has always been a method either of assaulting enemies or of lathering one's own ego, has it not? All we are saying is that the microphone, as the newest instrument of communication, can be used for great good or for great evil. The acmes have been given to Hitler, and, when a Democrat speaks, to Roosevelt.

Mr. Wirth: There is another feature of radio, which, it seems to me, we have to consider when we discuss its relation to democracy: the fact that this instrument, which is really the product of just one generation, has come almost completely under the control of commercial agencies. . . .[5]

Because this discussion was given before an audience of educated people who were already quite familiar with the subject, a number of words or terms are used that might not be easily understood by members of a general audience. Note how the point that radio is a neutral instrument is amplified and repeated. Note, also, the use of phrases denoting the tentativeness of thought in process, such as *it appears to me, they seem, it seems to me.* All three speak within the first minute. When the first point is developed, Mr. Smith makes a brief summary and Mr. Wirth, the panel leader, introduces the next idea.

The second example is the first part of a discussion of "M-Day and America," broadcast over a national network, July 14, 1940.

M-Day and America

Panel: Quincy Howe, Author and Editor
Leo M. Cherne, Executive Secretary, Research Institute of America
Herbert Heaton, Professor of History, University of Minnesota

Mr. Heaton: I wish you'd tell me what "M-Day" is. Out in the Middle West it would be Minnesota Day, or Michigan Day, or Montana Day. But I assume that it is none of these.

Mr. Howe: No, M-Day is an abbreviation of Mobilization Day. Mobilization Day is the day that the United States goes to war, and on that day the War Department has certain plans to mobilize the manpower and industry of the country.

Mr. Cherne: Mobilization takes different forms in different environ-

5. *Education on the Air, 1939* (Columbus, Ohio), pp. 5–18.

ments. For example, when a sizable Italian army of self-proclaimed educators and civilizers marched into Ethiopia, the inevitable native mobilization order read as follows:

"Everyone will now be mobilized and all boys old enough to carry a spear will be sent to Addis Ababa. Married men will take their wives to carry food and cook. Those without wives will take any women without husbands. Women with small babies need not go. The blind, those who cannot walk or for any reason cannot carry a spear, are exempt. Anyone found at home after receipt of this order will be hanged."

That was complete mobilization in a country when even a shillalah would have been an improvement in armament.

Mr. Heaton: Yet it isn't quite the mobilization that we expect in the United States when M-Day dawns, I suppose.

Mr. Howe: It sounds, Heaton, as though M-Day were already here. Are we at war now? I understood that we are still at peace, technically, at least, and, although we are talking "M-Day" and "if and when we go to war," our Gallup Polls show that over ninety per cent of the people right along have wanted the United States to keep out of war.

Mr. Cherne: Well, let's recognize, in all frankness, that right now we are no longer in a completely peaceful society. We are halfway between the individual motivations of peacetime and the community victory drive of a war-bent nation.

Mr. Heaton: Are we, then, in a prebelligerent or nonbelligerent, stage of unneutral neutrality?

Mr. Cherne: In international law, the terms "belligerency" and "nonbelligerency," as you know, have become confused.

Mr. Howe: But aren't we morally and economically at war now?

Mr. Heaton: That is a dangerous question, according to the Gallup Polls and all the rest. What does concern me is not answering an impossible question—with all due respect to you, Howe—but what kind of a plan has been prepared for the time when the President, or Congress, officially declares that the country is at war?

Mr. Cherne: The plan that has been prepared is really three separate plans. There is the M-Day plan, prepared by the War Department for military strategy and tactics. That is the plan to be used for the purpose of military warfare. Those plans are secret.

Mr. Heaton: That is the fighting plan?

Mr. Cherne: That's right! [6]

6. This and following quotation by permission of Sherman H. Dryer, Radio Director, University of Chicago.

In opening this discussion, each speaker made a special attempt to say something that would arouse the interest of the listeners. Note the time taken and the methods used in defining the term "M-Day." Note also the use of colloquial contractions, *you'd*, *let's*, *that's*. The absence of such titles as *professor* or *doctor* is intentional. When the discussion got off the main track, Mr. Heaton, who had begun the digression, reintroduced the point from which they had departed.

Once the panel is well started, the battle is more than half won. Maintaining interest is usually easier than arousing interest. However, it is well to give the audience a chance to relax now and then by introducing a lighter note into the discussion. Here is an example from the middle of the same discussion.

Mr. Howe: Do you suppose that this University of Chicago Round Table will be liquidated, or otherwise integrated to the war scheme that Cherne is talking about in such a menacing fashion here?

Mr. Heaton: I can see some local committee looking down its list of priorities, and it will pass down elevator boys as nonessentials—elevator girls will do; it will probably decide that bus drivers can be female; and it will get to the Round Table.

Mr. Cherne: You remind me of a very humorous incident during the first World War. A college professor—and this is no reflection on you, Heaton—was in charge of a division to determine which activities were considered essential. The question of corsets and corset laces came up, and he decided that corsets were essential but that corset laces were not essential because, as he said, "they can just as well wear them without any trimming."

Mr. Heaton: This Round Table, I suspect might be low down on the list of essentials. It might be allowed to survive as a semicircle, or it might even become a solo—a loudspeaker—saying the right kind of thing. In any event, some will go off and fight and the great bulk of the population will be working at lines which seem to be most essential.

Mr. Cherne: Approximately ten men are required in civilian activity for every man at the front. . . .

Here again, it is Mr. Heaton, who, as leader of the panel, brings the discussion back to the serious side of the subject.

Panel members should not wait to be called on, but should speak whenever they have something to say and can get the chance to

say it. When two attempt to speak at once, the leader indicates which is to proceed. While it is not wise for members always to speak in rotation the time should be fairly evenly divided among the participants. Otherwise, there will be complaints from partisans in the audience that the speaker representing their point of view did not have a fair chance.

In the Round Table discussion of M-Day, there were 100 different speeches in the twenty-eight minutes of broadcast time: Mr. Heaton spoke 33 times; Mr. Howe, 26 times; Mr. Cherne, 41 times. An examination of fifteen Round Tables broadcast during 1938 indicated that the average discussion contained 76 speeches; the average speech was 44 words in length.

Much of our illustrative material has been drawn from three-speaker panels. When the number is larger, each speaker has correspondingly greater difficulty in getting into the conversation long enough to get his point of view before the group. Fansler gives the following data on the contributions of each person in a seven-member panel: [7]

Mr. A	Mr. B	Miss C	Chairman	Miss D	Mr. E	Miss F
17	23	26	49	1	12	6

There may have been equality of opportunity but there certainly was not equality of participation. Miss D and Miss F can hardly have felt satisfied about their parts in the discussion; Miss C and the Chairman should feel dissatisfied on other grounds! The moral, probably, is not to have seven members on a panel.

The successful panel is like the stage play in that it gives the audience an opportunity to do some legitimate "eavesdropping." We like to overhear what people are saying. It is like the play in that the speakers, while seemingly talking to each other, must project their voices so that those in the back row will not only hear but feel included in the conversation. It is like the play in that the panel members must listen and act as well as talk. The panel member who looks bored whenever he isn't talking deserves the fate that befalls actors who won't share the stage. But here the resemblance to the play ceases. While the actor is playing a part and is successful to the degree that the audience forgets him as a

7. Thomas Fansler, *Discussion Methods for Adult Groups* (New York, 1934), p. 113.

person, the panel speaker must be himself, focusing attention on his own words and ideas. While the actor has memorized and rehearsed his lines and finally attained the appearance of spontaneity, the panel speaker must invent his lines and say them on the spur of the moment. His spontaneity is real enough, but it has all the hazards that come from impromptu thinking and impromptu talk. Not every speaker who has something worth saying can get it said interestingly and audibly under these conditions. Only speakers with the skill which comes from practice can be counted on to talk with the appearance of naturalness in unnatural surroundings.

On important occasions, with inexperienced panel members, it may be advisable to use a script. The best method of preparing such scripts is to have a stenographer take down the best parts of the conversation at the preliminary meeting. With this material as a basis, a writer can prepare a script that contains the language as well as the ideas of the different participants. There is opportunity to strike out unfortunate remarks, to add needed evidence, and to achieve a directness and unity of treatment often lacking in amateur extemporaneous discussions. The objection that few people read as though they were talking is partly answered by the fact that in scripts prepared by this method the panel members have invented and spoken most of the lines before they try to read them.

At the conclusion of the panel on "The Place of Radio in a Democracy," there was a forum period in which members of the audience asked questions about the panel technique. The following sentences, taken from the replies, contain valuable advice for all panel members:

"We learned quickly not to emphasize ourselves what somebody else is adequately emphasizing."

"My strategy was to play up what they played down. We are trying to give a balanced picture out of our joint participation."

"We make no pretense of trying to give full information on any specific point of view or to reach any definite conclusions."

"You cannot cite long statistics. You cannot use technical terms without defining them explicitly and it has to be done rather skillfully by a few dramatic points."

"If one of us makes a *faux pas* . . . another one invariably will bring it around and say, 'You mean so-and-so,' and make it possible to smooth it over. . . "

"The excellence of the spontaneity depends in large measure upon the intensity of preparation."

". . . there generally is an attempt in the end statement to give a kind of summary stating the alternative points of view." [8]

Good manners for panel members are about the same as for those who take part in informal discussions, with the exception that special care must be taken not to "talk down" to the audience or to seem too obviously to instruct them. Panel members must resist the temptation to show off or to raise a laugh at the expense of a questioner during the forum period.

C. Those Who Give Talks

Under this heading we include those who give reports at cooperative investigations, speakers at conferences and public hearings, lecturers who participate in lecture-forums, and speakers who take part in the symposium or debate-forum.

The speech is a solo performance. The speaker has agreed to supply certain information, or to present a point of view, in a specified length of time. The responsibility is fixed; the speaker cannot rely on others to come to his rescue with information or arguments that he has not taken time to gather. Knowing this, the audience expects a degree of preparation and a quality of performance that they would not demand of a participant in informal or panel discussions. "If this fellow," they think, "is going to take up that much of our time without giving us a chance to speak, he had better have something to say."

This is not the place for a full consideration of the process of preparing a speech. Any standard text on public speaking contains this information. We list here only information of special importance to those giving talks during discussion meetings:

1. The purpose of these talks may be either to give information that is needed for an understanding of the problem, to give the advantages and disadvantages of various solutions, or to present the merits of the solution in which the speaker believes. The first step in preparation is to understand the general purpose of the meeting and the specific purpose of the talk.

2. The word "talk" is used intentionally. The speaker is con-

8. *Education on the Air, 1939* (Columbus, Ohio), pp. 18–38.

ducting a one-sided conversation. Good talk is adapted to the needs and interests of the listener.

3. While the listener expects more thought content per minute in a speech than in informal discussion, there are distinct limits to the amount of information that can be made meaningful in a short speech. In his laudable eagerness to make the best possible use of his time, the discussion speaker should not pack so much into his talk that important facts and ideas are glimpsed only in passing.

4. The talk, though more formal than the discussion forms previously discussed, is still a phase of what Dewey has called "thought in process." The tentativeness in phrasing, the willingness to consider other points of view, the attitude of rethinking the problems, are as important here as in the panel or in conversation. The discussion talk should not contain the devices pressing for an immediate decision that are appropriate in the debate or in the persuasive speech.

5. The discussion talk usually comes after the attention of the audience has been focused on the topic and on the speaker's part in the discussion. There is no need to spend time in restating the topic or in the preliminary remarks that might be appropriate on other occasions.

Here are the first paragraphs of the two symposium speeches on America's Town Meeting of the Air for January 6, 1938. The topic was "How Can Government and Business Work Together?" Robert H. Jackson, then assistant attorney general, represented the New Deal; Wendell L. Willkie, then president of the Commonwealth and Southern Corporation, spoke for business; George V. Denny, Jr. gave the purpose of the series of broadcasts, stated the topic of the evening's discussion, and introduced the speakers.

Mr. Jackson: Probably no two men who personally respect each other enough to appear in public together could look at the relations of government to business through more differently colored glasses than Mr. Willkie and myself. I have admired his consistent willingness to stand up man-fashion and submit his views to the test of dispassionate but frank discussion. This is the only process by which a democratic people can reach decisions on conflicting policies. I have recently paid my respects to that small but loud section of business which has been "ganging up" on democracy. So

tonight I can address myself to that larger number who submit their case to the sound judgment of democracy. . . .

Mr. Willkie: I wonder if it seems strange to any of you tonight that we should be discussing the question of whether or not the government should co-operate with American business. I have an idea that if, from the town meetings of the past, our forefathers should arise to attend this meeting, they would be a little puzzled by such a topic. They might ask, with some surprise, if it was not the function of American government to encourage the development of private enterprise. . . .[9]

These are simple, direct statements that begin immediately to give the speaker's position on the relation of government to business. The sentences have the quality of talk, but not the quality of informal conversation. There are few wasted words. The simplicity of statement is a carefully planned simplicity.

6. The discussion speaker cannot afford to limit his preparation to having his secretary provide him with a speech. He must prepare for the forum period when the ghost who has written his speech will not be at his elbow. On the spur of the moment, he must comment on points that are raised and answer as best he can questions that come his way. These questions, says Overstreet, "test the sincerity of a speaker. In a formal speech he may hand out platitudes that cover a multitude of evasions. . . . [Then comes] a searching question and he has either to continue to evade, and suffer the consequences of public disesteem, or, as the phrase goes, 'come clean.' "[10]

The discussion talk is usually given in a more formal atmosphere than prevails during the panel. If the room is large, the speakers occupy a platform and rise when they speak. They address their speeches not to each other, as in the case of the panel, but to the audience. For the moment, they occupy positions of authority. Members of the audience must look up to them literally, if not figuratively.

It is pleasant to speak as one having authority; but the position has its dangers as well as its advantages. The lecturer may be tempted to continue to make little lectures during the forum pe-

9. This and following quotations reprinted from *Town Meeting*, by permission of Columbia University Press.

10. *Op. cit.*, p. 38.

riod. The speaker on the platform has the advantage over the questioner from the audience. Even experienced speakers sometimes cannot resist the temptation to use this advantage unfairly. The speaker who listens to a questioner with an air of "Little man, what now?" is diverting the attention of his listeners from the problem and arousing resentment towards himself. The speaker who, by his manner, challenges the audience to a heckling match may get just that; the result is not likely to be a thoughtful consideration of the problem.

D. Participants in the Forum Period

Theoretically, every member of the audience may speak in the forum period; actually, this rarely, if ever, happens. Nor can it unless the audience is very small. Moreover, the average forum audience includes a great many who do not feel that they have anything to say and others who are too timid to speak. For those who, having nothing to say, refuse to take the time of the meeting, we have the highest praise; for those who might make a contribution to the meeting but do not know how to go about it, these paragraphs are written.

A word about the number who can usually be counted on to speak in the forum period. America's Town Meeting is generally conceded to be a highly successful symposium-forum. It is usually broadcast from Town Hall in New York where an audience of 1500 is present. Sometimes a "special interrogator" is designated in advance to question the speakers and bridge the gap between the set speeches and the audience participation. An examination of the transcripts of ten broadcasts during the spring of 1940, shows an average of fourteen questions volunteered from the floor or sent in from radio listeners. The lowest number was eight; the highest, twenty-three. On the average, not more than one auditor in a hundred spoke during the question period.

The usual form of audience participation is to question the speakers. If they are authorities on the topic, the listeners want to learn as much from them as they can and prefer the question-and-answer procedure to speeches from their fellow listeners. During the Town Hall broadcasts, listener participation is limited to relevant questions with the instruction that they be framed in about twenty-five words. Before the broadcast, however, there is a preliminary

meeting in which this restriction does not prevail. After the leader has made a brief opening statement, the meeting is thrown open for questions, statements of opinion, or brief speeches. "This meeting," say the Overstreets, "has the definite advantage of preparing the audience for the discussion that is to follow." [11] It has the further advantage of suggesting that the forum may be discussion among equals; the question-and-answer period after the speeches stresses the idea of inequality between speakers and audience members.

The twenty-five word maximum for questions from the floor in Town Hall broadcasts cannot be rigidly enforced. Eight questions in the transcript of one broadcast were over fifty words in length. The rule is necessary to prevent questioners from taking too much time; it is valuable because it forces the questioner to phrase his question carefully. He must achieve clarity with his first wording; there is no time for restatement.

There are four types of questions that listeners may properly put to forum speakers.

1. *Requests for further information.* When the speaker has made generalizations without indicating his evidence, this type of question is in order. If the speaker has the information he will welcome the chance to give it; if he does not have it, the audience will be better able to evaluate his conclusions.

2. *Requests for the speaker's opinion.* Members of the audience may want to get the speaker's opinion on specific applications of the topic under consideration, on the strength of some argument, or the accuracy of some statement. An interesting example of this type of question and answer occurred in the Town Meeting for March 11, 1940. The topic was "What Should America Do For the 'Joads'?"

Moderator Denny: Here is a question that was sent in by E. H. Angier of Framingham, Massachusetts: Is *The Grapes of Wrath* a true picture of conditions that really existed or now exist in the West?

Mr. McWilliams (author of *Factories in the Field* and Chief of the Bureau of Immigration and Housing of California's Department of Industrial Relations): In response to that question I would say this: that with respect to the time that Mr. Steinbeck first went into the fields of California in 1937, *The Grapes of Wrath* is a very sub-

11. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

stantially true and accurate portrayal of conditions of migratory labor in California.

Moderator Denny: I am going to ask Mr. Bancroft to speak on that same question.

Mr. Bancroft (Member of the Executive Committee of the Associated Farmers of California): I will say that *The Grapes of Wrath* is an absolutely untrue and libelous book, and it is not only a libel on the farmers and the good people of California, but a still worse libel on those fellow farmers who come from what they call the Dust Bowl—most of them don't come from the Dust Bowl, by the way—but those people who are good, hard-working Americans who were driven out of their farms through the failure of our wonderful farm relief that we were going to have and by Secretary Wallace's agricultural policy.[12]

3. *Friendly questions.* These questions, asked by friends of the speaker or those who agree with his point of view, give him the opportunity to add further evidence or to amplify his arguments. An example occurred in the same Town Meeting:

Man: Mr. Tugwell, do you think there is anything which can be done in the field of vocational training and vocational guidance for young men and young women who are in Federal camps?

Mr. Tugwell (also a symposium speaker. Former Director of the Resettlement Administration): Yes, I think very definitely that something can be done. The people who are in the Federal camps, so far as my experience with them goes, have every indication of being some of the best stock in the United States, and all they lack is training. . . . The only thing we have been able to think of in connection with the camps in California is to try to start them on the ladder of agricultural progress. To do that we have, in connection with some of the camps, established small homesteads. . . .

Sometimes the purpose of the friendly question is to secure the approval of the speaker for one of the questioner's pet beliefs. The first question asked in this same Town Hall broadcast is of this sort:

Man: Mr. McWilliams, would it not be best to tax land values so that the owners of speculative land would be either forced to use it or else let it out to other people who can use it?

Moderator Denny: There's one of our Henry George questions.

12. *Town Meeting,* March 11, 1940, pp. 21–22.

Mr. McWilliams: I am glad to have one Henry George question. The answer, in my judgment, is yes. . . .

The person who asks this type of question is not always so successful in getting a favorable answer. He may have misjudged the speaker's position. Then the person who asked the question will be disappointed but the interchange may be of value as far as the other listeners are concerned.

4. *Hostile or challenging questions.* Such questions may be designed to reveal the speaker's lack of information or to "put him on the spot" by asking his opinion on a crucial issue. During the Town Meeting of February 18, 1937, on "Can Democracies Avoid Dictatorship?" Mme. Agresti spoke in glowing terms of the Guild State organized in Italy by Mussolini. She made the point that here was a brand new form of government that protected the interests of the average citizen.

Here is what happened in the question period:

Man (to Mme. Agresti): Can such a thing as America's Town Meeting take place in Italy today?

Mme. Agresti: No.

Someone, commenting on the effectiveness of this interchange, called Mme. Agresti's reply "the 'No' heard round the world."

The questioner often finds it necessary to begin with a sentence or two connecting his query with what the speaker has said. This helps speaker and audience to get the significance of both question and answer. This example from the Town Meeting of February 26, 1940, on "How Can We Promote the Welfare of Employers, Employees, and the Public?" serves also to provide a further illustration of the hostile or challenging question that was not quite so effective:

Man: Mr. Keating, in your second point you said that the farmer should hold his land. By the same principle, should the laborers of industry keep the tools of their plant?

Mr. Keating (Editor and Manager of *Labor* magazine): My friend is trying to commit me to socialism, and I am not a socialist.

Man: Mr. Roth, you stated that the public demanded honesty from the employer and the employee. Would you consider an employer honest who negotiates a contract with a labor union and then refuses to sign it?

Mr. Roth (President of the Employers' Council of San Francisco): I should say that the man might be thoroughly honest but I personally think he is foolish. I know no reason why any employer should refuse to sign a contract once it has been entered into.[13]

There are two types of question that should be avoided: the irrelevant question and the *ad hominem* question that attacks the individual rather than his arguments. Irrelevant questions will be asked as long as there are irrelevant individuals. Others can avoid them by the simple device of making sure that they can establish the relationship of the question to the topic before they ask it. Here is an example of an *ad hominem* question and how it was dealt with, taken from the April 15, 1940, Town Hall discussion on "What are the essential differences between the Republican and Democratic parties?"

Man: I understand that some of the members of the Republican National Committee are directors or controllers of steel corporations who bought large quantities of tear gas and other weapons—

Moderator Denny: I am sorry. That question is out. It is in the nature of a personal question.

Thus far, we have considered the content of the audience member's remarks. The following suggestions are concerned with the manner of his participation.

1. When the audience is large, the individual who wishes to speak should rise and obtain recognition from the chairman; otherwise, a number may begin speaking at the same time. The requirement that the speaker stand while speaking also serves the purpose of putting him more definitely on record. Those who desire to remain anonymous should also remain silent.

2. While addressing his remarks to the leader, or to the speaker from whom he desires a reply, the forum participant should remember that he is also speaking to the entire audience. Any interchange of comments between the speaker and an audience member on the front row should be audible to those in the back seats.

3. Brief notes, or even a silent rehearsal of what he proposes to say, will help the speaker to make his statement brief and clear. The speaking must usually be extemporaneous; it need not be impromptu. The person who does not think before he speaks is likely

13. *Town Meeting*, Feb. 26, 1940, p. 21.

to suffer the same fate in the discussion as his counterpart who does not look before he leaps.

4. Audience members need not be trained public speakers to participate in the forum period. If they can speak audibly, and to the point, listeners will excuse the lack of trained voices. They can also be expected to avoid a belligerent, chip-on-the-shoulder manner of speaking. A member of the audience should be slow to stir the anger of a speaker on the platform; in any such interchange the odds are against the one who starts it.

IV. The Language of Discussion

A literal transcription of a good informal discussion reveals many things regarded as weaknesses in written style. There are usually fragmentary sentences, loose connectives, and words whose antecedents are grammatically doubtful. There are sentences that wander and finally trail off into silence. There is more repetition, both of words and of ideas, than we like to see in print. There are statements without meaning to those not present when they were uttered and humorous remarks that do not seem funny the next day.

This is not to say that the style of discussion is inferior to written style. The speaker who talks like a book is just as bad as the book of unedited extemporaneous talk. Fortunately, for the reputation of the participants, such talk is seldom published without substantial editing. The *Congressional Record* comes as near to being a word by word account of extemporaneous speaking as anything available, but it is by no means a verbatim report. Stenographers and proofreaders are expected to see that the ordinary rules of grammar are observed and to "correct obvious errors of historical, geographical, Biblical, or literary reference." Before publication, the manuscript is sent to the speaker "who may make any change he wishes, provided only that his changes do not affect the remarks of other speakers; and who may, if he wishes, insert such terms as 'laughter' and 'prolonged applause.' "[14] The discussion speaker can find only a few printed examples of what was actually said in discussion.

14. Loren D. Reid, "Factors Contributing to Inaccuracy in the Texts of Speeches," *Papers in Rhetoric*, Donald C. Bryant, Ed. (St. Louis, Mo., 1940), p. 44.

We do not wish to condone slipshod statements or obvious grammatical errors. The speaker should attempt to avoid them in his everyday talk as well as in public speaking or writing. But grammatical errors are not so serious because the speaker has the advantage of voice and action to supplement his words; indeed, listeners may not even notice them when the manner of speaking is effective and the idea is worthwhile.

Good talk has a rhetoric of its own; it should not be judged by the rules governing the style of the printed page. The language used in plays and in radio scripts, except for the fact that it is written by experts, illustrates the language of discussion. Here are the main points in which it differs from the language of formal writing:

1. The discussion speaker makes greater use of the pronouns of direct address, i. e., *I, you, we,* than is usually regarded good form in writing.

2. The discussion speaker can properly use fragmentary sentences, i. e., single words and phrases, when the meaning is clear to the listener. "Second" is just as meaningful as, "I second the motion." Note the use of incomplete sentences in the following excerpt from a discussion on propaganda:

Leader: Now for some examples of propaganda . . .
Mr. A: Campaign speeches . . .
Mr. B: Sermons, raising money for missions . . .
Miss C: Many movies . . .
Mr. D: Gossip . . .
Miss E: Aren't we all . . .
Mr. A: I think so . . . at one time or another . . .

3. The discussion speaker, as we have intimated, should use more repetition than would be acceptable in writing. The reader can vary his usual rate to suit his mood or the difficulty of the material. He may reread a paragraph or stop reading to think about the meaning or importance of an idea. The listener can do none of these things; he must attempt to adapt his listening rate to the speaker's speed of utterance; if he stops to think about an idea, he may miss a more important one that comes next. If his attention wanders momentarily, as is inevitable with even trained listeners, he may not hear important ideas that are not repeated.

The good extemporaneous speaker does not leave a point until he believes a majority of his listeners understand it. One advantage of the informal types of discussion is that members of the group may ask questions at the moment and keep the discussion on one idea until they understand its meaning and signify their willingness to go on to something else.

4. The discussion speaker often uses colloquial language that he would hesitate to include in formal speeches. We have repeatedly urged the discussion speaker to talk in the everyday vocabulary of his listeners. Other factors being equal, the more the speaker succeeds in doing this, the more meaning will his hearers get from what he says. The oft-printed advice to use short, Anglo-Saxon words in communicating with popular audiences is sound, not because of the length or origin of these words, but because they have been longest in the speaking vocabulary of the average listener. For that reason, they have more meaning for him.

5. The discussion speaker can use questions more frequently than he would think proper in writing. The leader uses questions in introducing the problem and in making transitions to the next point in the discussion. The speaker is questioned on the meaning of what he has said. Members of the group question each other. The question and answer is one of the most common rhetorical devices in discussion.

Aside from these differences, the language of discussion should be that appropriate for speaking or writing where the communication of ideas, and a calm consideration of their importance, are the main objectives. There should be a liberal use of the devices that make meanings clear to others, i. e., definitions, explanations, typical examples, and transition devices sufficiently obvious to keep the listener from getting lost. There is no place in discussion for the rhetoric of display or for the more extreme appeals to the emotions.

The last chapter closed with the statement that there are three ways of learning to lead discussion. With equal truth, the statement can be applied to the process of learning to take part in the various types of discussion meetings. One learns by reading what has been written on the subject, by observing the work of skilled performers, and by taking part in classroom discussions. The readings and

exercises which follow are designed to help the student who wishes to take an intelligent and effective part in discussion.

READINGS

Elliott, H. S., *The Process of Group Thinking* (New York, 1928), Chap. VIII.

Judson, L., and Judson, E., *Modern Group Discussion* (New York, 1937), Chap. VI.

McBurney, J. H., and Hance, K., *The Principles and Methods of Discussion* (New York, 1939), Chap. VII.

MacLatchy, J., ed., *Education on the Air, 1939* (Ohio State University, 1939), pp. 18–38.

Nichols, A., *Discussion and Debate* (New York, 1941), Chap. VI.

Overstreet, H. A., and Overstreet, B., *Town Meeting Comes to Town* (New York, 1938), Chap. III.

Sheffield, A. D., *Joining in Public Discussion* (New York, 1922), Section I.

Walser, F., *The Art of Conference* (New York, 1933), Chap. V.

EXERCISES

1. Attend an informal discussion and note the number and quality of the contributions made by the various participants. Hand in a written report summarizing what you have learned from this experience about participating in discussion.

2. Listen in on a spontaneous, informal discussion in which the participants are not aware of an audience. (Such discussions occur in the campus eating places, or in dormitories during study hours.) Note how interest was generated and sustained. What did you learn from this experience that might be applied to other types of discussion?

3. Analyze a stenographic report of a panel discussion. Hand in a written report on the contribution made by each member of the panel. Note especially any remarks that seemed to distract attention from the purpose of the discussion.

4. Listen to a broadcast of America's Town Meeting of the Air and comment on the effectiveness of the speakers in adjusting themselves to the occasion. Note especially their ability, and willingness, to answer questions directly and concisely.

5. With another member of the class, conduct an eight-minute dialogue before the group on a subject of your own choosing. Use a memorized outline and attempt to create the impression of spontaneous, but purposeful, conversation.

6. The class will be divided into groups of four or five for a series of panel discussions. After the panel has considered the topic for about twenty minutes, other members of the class should join in the discussion. The last ten minutes of the period will be devoted to an analysis of the meeting.

7. The class will be divided into groups of three or four for a series of symposium-forums. After each speaker has presented his information on the topic, or his point of view, in a five-minute speech, there will be general discussion under the direction of the leader. The last ten minutes of the class hour will be devoted to comment on each speaker, and to an analysis of the forum period.

8. After each series the instructor will lead an informal discussion on "What I have learned about taking part in discussion." The purpose is to draw conclusions based both on the reading of this chapter and on the class programs.

9. After you have participated in a number of discussions, write an analysis of your own contributions to these meetings. Did you tend to talk too much? Too little? Did you have difficulty in following the pattern of thought? In listening to others? What type of preparation did you make? What preparation should you have made?

CHAPTER XXI

Evaluating Discussion

Our first problem in evaluating discussion is to determine its efficiency as a method of learning, thinking, and problem solving. What is the relative reliability of judgments reached by individuals after group discussion and judgments reached by the same individuals without consultation? How does the quality and quantity of mental work done by individuals in groups compare with what they usually do when working alone? How effective is discussion as a means of providing accurate information? What is the effect of discussion on the opinions, or attitudes, of participants and listeners? For such answers to these questions as are available, we turn to the findings of recent objective studies.

I. Objective Studies of Discussion

There are fewer of these studies than one might expect. "In spite of our dependence upon the parliamentary system, it is surprising that practically no psychological work on the processes of interstimulation in group discussion has been undertaken until recently." [1] However, several important studies have been completed since this statement was written.

The first step in measuring the effect of discussion on individual judgments is to determine how these same individuals would have voted by secret ballot before any discussion had occurred. Otherwise, effects ascribed to discussion may actually be the result of

1. Gardner Murphy, Lois Murphy, and Theodore Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology* (New York, 1937), p. 709.

averaging individual judgments to get a group decision. This problem has been studied by Knight[2] and Gordon.[3]

Knight asked the subjects in her experiment to judge the intelligence of twelve children by looking at photographs, to estimate the sales effectiveness of fifteen advertisements, and to guess the temperature of the room in which they sat. The correct answer to each of these questions was available for comparison. In estimating intelligence from pictures, the group judgment, obtained by averaging individual scores, was better than the individual judgment of twenty-two out of the thirty-five persons included in the experiment. The group judgment was better than that of thirty out of forty individuals who estimated the effectiveness of the fifteen advertisements. Fifty-six students guessed the temperature of the classroom. The group average was more nearly correct than forty-eight of the fifty-six individuals.

Gordon had 200 subjects arrange 10 weights in order, from the heaviest to the lightest. The records of the individual students were then arbitrarily divided into 40 groups of 5, then into 20 groups of 10, and finally into 4 groups of 50. The average rank correlations of individual judgments with the true order was plus .41; for the groups of 5, plus .68; for the groups of 10, plus .79; for groups of 50, plus .92 to .95. These correlations show that the accuracy of the group judgment increased as the group increased in size.

The conclusion from these two studies is that, in matters of this kind at least, several heads are better than one. While there are always some individuals who do better than the group, most individuals do more poorly than the group. If some way could be found of making sure that the decision would always be in the hands of the better individuals, this would be the ideal arrangement. Since there is no way of doing this, the plan of submitting questions to the vote of all members of the group is the most satisfactory solution.

Most studies of the effects of group activity and discussion on group performance have dealt with tasks where an objective meas-

2. H. C. Knight, "A Comparison of the Reliability of Group and Individual Judgments," Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1921.

3. K. Gordon, "Group Judgments in the Field of Lifted Weights," *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, VII (1924), pp. 398–400.

ure of the output is possible, or with questions having a correct or "right" answer. South [4] studied the relative efficiency of committees of three and committees of six in four types of situations. Over a thousand students took part in the experiment. Each committee had to reach at least a majority decision. In matching photographs against names of emotions, the groups of three worked more quickly than the committees of six and were equally accurate. In solving bridge problems no conclusive superiority was found for either group. In judging the merits of English compositions, as compared with the judgment of experts, the committees of three worked more quickly; the results for accuracy showed no real superiority for either group. In multiple-choice problems, involving thinking and the acceptance or rejection of hypotheses, there was a great deal of group discussion and the groups of six had a considerable advantage in both speed and accuracy. South believes that three heads are better than six when the task is relatively simple and speed is important; that six are better than three when the solution of the problem involves the testing of various hypotheses. Six people make more suggestions than three and the right one is more likely to be found among them.

Bechterev and Lange [5] made a series of studies on the problem of group thinking. Subjects were shown various pictures for a period of fifteen seconds. Each person then wrote down all of the details of the picture that he could remember. After these papers had been collected, a discussion took place and a collective decision on all the items reported by any individual was required. Finally, each individual was asked to write down in what respects his own opinion differed from that of the group.

Sixty-six persons who looked at a picture of a locomotive reported a total of 284 details (including all duplications) of which 29 were incorrect. After discussion, 118 additional correct details were added and 17 mistaken ones. The percentage of correct observations before discussion was 80.9; after discussion it rose to 86.1. Similar results were obtained in two other sections of the

4. E. B. South, "Some Psychological Aspects of Committee Work," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, VI (1923), pp. 38–43.

5. W. Bechterev and M. Lange, "Ergebnisse des Experiments auf dem Gebiete der Kollectiven Reflexogie," *Zsch. f. angew. Psychol.*, XXIV (1924), pp. 224–254.

experiment in which the subjects observed and discussed other pictures.

Twenty-four teachers, taking a course in child study, were shown two pictures. In the first, a boy is caught stealing apples and the owner of the orchard appears with a stick; in the second, the boy is getting a whipping. Each teacher was asked to write down his impression of the pictures, including his judgment of the situation. Then followed a discussion, after which the teachers wrote down their revised opinions. There were striking changes in the revised opinions, due, presumably, to the discussion. Before the discussion, sixteen said, "Punishment is necessary;" only twelve made this point afterwards. The sentence, "If he is hungry, he should not be punished," appeared in three initial statements; eighteen made this point after discussion. Whereas one individual originally said, "Beating is barbarous," twenty-two included this idea in their revised opinions. In commenting on the results of this experiment, Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb say, "We have to do here not only with the alteration of opinions, but with the point, so often emphasized in discussion of group thinking, that what may be overlooked by the individual may, when pointed out by someone else, be granted by nearly all the members of the group; it may even receive cardinal emphasis." [6]

Thorndike also studied the relative efficiency of group work and individual performance and the effect of discussion on the correctness of group decisions. The first experiment [7] was designed to test "the hypothesis that group superiority in mental work is greater in materials permitting a greater range of response." Fifty-six students at Barnard College worked alternately alone and in groups on four types of tasks: completing sentences; supplying synonyms for words; completing limericks; solving, and later making, crossword puzzles. Results with the first three types of material were in accord with the initial hypothesis. Making crossword puzzles was done less successfully by the group than solving them. Thorndike suggests that making these puzzles involves complex integrations that are less efficiently done by a group than by a single individual.

6. *Op. cit.*, p. 718.
7. R. L. Thorndike, "On What Type of Task Will a Group Do Well?", *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, XXXIII (1938), pp. 409–412.

Almost 1,200 college students participated in the second study [8] of the effect of discussion upon the correctness of group decisions. These students first recorded their votes on a variety of problems and then discussed them briefly in small groups until they reached a unanimous group verdict. Problems were used for which a right answer could be determined. Thorndike drew these conclusions:

(1) A small gain in the percentage of correct decisions resulted from simply combining the individual votes, without discussion, into a majority vote for each group.
(2) A further small gain in the percentage of correct group decisions followed the discussion.
(3) Knowledge of the initial vote of a majority of the group exerted a great deal of influence upon the individual.
(4) Individuals tended to hold to the right answer more tenaciously than to the wrong answer when the majority was against them.
(5) The tendency to hold to the right answer was in part a function of the greater confidence of those holding the right answers.
(6) More shift, and possibly more gain, was found in problems of fact than in problems of value.

The findings of these studies are generally substantiated by other experiments which cannot be reviewed here. Those interested will find a list of these experiments at the end of the chapter.

We are especially concerned with the effects of discussion in dealing with problems of policy such as confront the citizen in deciding what attitude he should take on a social or governmental problem. Here no right answer can be demonstrated; action must be based on a consideration of probable outcomes. Very few studies of this sort have as yet been completed; we will report four whose findings are indicative, though by no means conclusive.

Millson [9] studied the effect of a student symposium on the opinions of members of the audience. The symposium consisted of speeches supporting four solutions, or courses of action, and the usual forum period for questions and comment. Members of the audience were given the chance to indicate their choice of these solutions, or to state that they were undecided, at the beginning

8. R. L. Thorndike, "The Effect of Discussion upon the Correctness of Group Decisions When the Factor of Majority Influence Is Allowed For," *Journal of Social Psychology*, IX (1938), pp. 343–362.

9. William A. D. Millson, "Audience Reaction to Symposium," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXI (1935), pp. 43–53.

and, again, at the end of the meeting. A summary of these ballots appears in the table below.

	Solution A	*Solution B*	*Solution C*	*Solution D*	*Undecided*	*Total*
Before discussion	28	51	3	9	31	122
After discussion	40	34	10	10	26	122

This table does not reveal the full extent of the shift. An analysis of the individual ballots reveals that 30 per cent of the individuals changed their opinions during the discussion. About two thirds of those who were originally undecided made up their minds, and 17 per cent, with an initial preference for one of the solutions, were undecided at the end of the meeting. Comparing these results with shifts of opinion induced by debate,[10] Millson notes that "there appears to be a greater tendency to maintain an undecided group" after discussion, and that the symposium tends to weaken original opinions to a greater degree than does debate. He properly notes that the findings of this one study should be regarded as tentative.

The change of public opinion during a discussion of Justice Black's qualifications for membership on the United States Supreme Court was studied by Lazarsfeld.[11] The chief point at issue was whether the then Senator Black had ever belonged to the Ku Klux Klan and, if so, whether this should disqualify him for service on the Court. The high spot in the public controversy was a speech in his own defense by Senator Black which was broadcast over a nation-wide radio network. The American Institute of Public Opinion gave permission to use approximately 3,000 interviews, taken a few days after the broadcast. One question asked whether the individual approved of the appointment when it was made about two weeks before; another requested his attitude at the time of the interview. A comparison of the answers to the two questions gave the following results:

No change of attitude	61%
Acquired a positive or negative opinion	21%

10. See Chapter XXVII, "Evaluating Debate," for a report of these studies.

11. P. F. Lazarsfeld, "The Change of Opinion During a Political Discussion," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXIII (1939), pp. 131 ff.

Shifted from positive to negative or *vice versa*	12%
Became undecided	6%

During the interval between the two polls, due to whatever reading and private discussion these individuals may have indulged in, as well as to the broadcast, 21 per cent acquired an opinion and 18 per cent changed the opinion they had previously held.

The most extensive study yet reported was made by Timmons.[12] He attempted to "evaluate the assumption that discussion in addition to information is essential for the wise decision on, and the appropriate attitude towards, a controversial social problem." The question was: "What, if anything, should be done about Ohio's system of releasing convicts from prison?" The subjects were 672 high-school juniors and seniors in Ohio schools.

These students were asked to express their attitudes on the question and to rank five proposed solutions in the order of desirability. These were compared with standards obtained by securing the unanimous opinion of experts on prison reform on both tests. After the initial measurements, all students read a pamphlet containing factual information on the question, presented as objectively as possible. The measures of attitude and choice of solutions were repeated and similar experimental and control groups created. Students in the experimental group were divided into groups of four for a discussion of the problem; those in the control group spent the same amount of time in making such further study of the factual information as they desired. The measures of attitude and choice of solution were repeated at the conclusion of this discussion or reading period, and, again, a month later to determine the permanency of changes.

Here are the findings concerning the ability of the students to rank the five proposed solutions in the order of their merit:

(1) Both groups of students made real gains. The students who discussed the merits of the solutions gained significantly more than those who spent their time in reading about the problem.
(2) Students with high scores on ranking the solutions before discussion were seldom pulled down by discussing the matter with students who had low scores. Those with low scores gained even

12. William M. Timmons, *Decisions and Attitudes as Outcomes of the Discussion of a Social Problem* (New York, 1939).

> after discussion with their fellows, but gained more in a discussion with students having high scores.

These findings are similar to the results of previously reported experiments in which the discussion concerned matters of fact or problems with "right" answers. Good suggestions are likely to be accepted and poor ones rejected in discussion of the type here described.

The second part of the study, however, did not yield decisive results. There were significant changes towards the desirable attitude in all groups after the initial reading of the printed material; thereafter the attitudes did not change significantly. In the author's words: "There was no significant difference between the attitudes of the experimental students after discussion and the control group after study." In interpreting these findings, the fact that no new information was available in the reading or discussion period seems important. Members of the discussion groups were not skilled in discussion and the problem was far removed from their first-hand experiences and interests.

Howell [13] measured the relative effectiveness of two types of discussion—the panel and the symposium-forum—in providing information and changing attitudes. The subjects were fifty pairs of high-school juniors and seniors, matched as to age and intelligence. One group listened to a panel on the merits of socialized medicine and a symposium-forum on federal aid to education. The other group listened to a symposium-forum on socialized medicine and a panel on federal aid to education. The programs were thirty minutes in length and approximately equal in strength of argument and quality of performance. The participants were college seniors and graduate students. Information and attitude tests were given before the groups listened to the programs, immediately after listening, and, again, five weeks afterward.

A comparison of the information tests showed that all programs resulted in substantial gains in information. Scores made by those listening to the panel were significantly higher than scores made by students listening to the symposium-forum. After five weeks about half of the facts learned from the broadcasts were remem-

13. William S. Howell, "The Relative Effectiveness of the Radio Round-Table and the Radio Forum," Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1938.

bered; the difference in favor of the panel persisted but to a lesser degree.

Since there was no attempt to shift attitudes in any given direction, shifts in either direction were considered as positive changes. Each of the four programs produced significant changes in attitude which persisted, practically unchanged, for at least five weeks. The panel and the symposium-forum were equally effective in changing attitudes. Forty per cent of the group made significant changes in attitude. The direction of these changes is of interest. Fifty-eight per cent of the changes were towards support of the *status quo;* 37 per cent, towards the proposed change. Obviously, these discussions would be poor tools for the propagandist.

From these studies, and others listed at the end of the chapter, the following tentative conclusions may be drawn:

(1) The average group judgment in situations covered by these studies is superior to most individual judgments; on the other hand, a few individuals are always better than the group.
(2) Group thinking, resulting from some form of consultation or discussion, is superior to individual thinking in situations where the following factors are of importance: "(1) the larger number of ways of looking at a problem; (2) the larger number of suggestions for a solution; (3) the larger number of effective criticisms of each proposed plan." [14]
(3) The group is more likely to accept good suggestions advanced in discussion than to reject them; more likely to reject bad suggestions than to accept them.
(4) In discussion, individuals who have the right answers tend to hold them more tenaciously than do individuals who hold wrong answers.
(5) Even relatively short discussions may change the opinions, or attitudes, of as many as 40 per cent of the listeners.

II. Criteria of a Good Discussion

What is a good discussion? The type of research just described can rarely be undertaken in measuring the results of one meeting or series. The most that can usually be done is to make a more subjective analysis, based on such data as can be readily collected. Judgments obtained by this method should not be underrated; the

14. Murphy, Murphy, and Newcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 738.

conclusions of trained observers may be as valuable as the results of objective studies obtained under the unnatural situations that often prevail in these experiments.

The discussion should always be judged in terms of its purpose or objective. If the purpose is to analyze the problem, the meeting should not be criticized because no conclusion is reached. If the objective is a realization of the extent and complexity of what has been regarded as a simple problem, the meeting should not be judged a failure if many leave in a state of perplexity and uncertainty. If they are thereby stimulated to think until they have reached a more accurate conclusion, the meeting will have served a valuable purpose.

One of the common misconceptions about discussions is that their success is to be judged in terms of the number who speak. It is possible to have ready and continuous participation and yet not have a successful meeting in terms of the accuracy of information or the depth of analysis. The quality of the speaking is more important than the quantity. Only when the purpose is to train group members in the oral expression of their thoughts does the number who speak become a consideration of first importance.

The criteria of a good discussion are contained in the following questions. Not all of these questions can be answered for every meeting.

A. Evidence of Increased Reading

Few discussions contain all the information needed in making an intelligent decision. One measure of the success of a discussion is whether those present are stimulated to read such books or articles as may be available. When there is a series of discussions, group members may be asked what they have read since the last meeting. Inquiries at the local libraries and bookstores may yield interesting information.

This method of evaluation is used in judging the effectiveness of the nation-wide radio discussions. Mr. George Denny, Jr., reports that 200,000 copies of the Town Meeting broadcasts were sold during 1938–39; sales of transcripts of the University of Chicago Round Tables range from 5,000 to 30,000 copies per week, depending on the timeliness of the topic. The Public Affairs Committee,

publishers of a series of pamphlets on current controversial subjects, reports a sale of 2,000,000 copies since 1936.

B. Conversations After the Meetings

Those who arrange discussions often report that the best conversations take place after the meeting has adjourned, when people gather in small groups and continue talking until the janitor turns out the lights. This is a sign of a successful meeting. If the discussion continues for weeks or months, the opinion of the community may be measurably influenced.

To give an immediate opportunity for talking over the Town Hall broadcasts, the management encourages the organization of listening groups. The annual report for the 1938–39 season reports 1,098 of these groups. Further evidence of the effectiveness of this program comes from letters commenting on arguments made in the broadcasts.

C. Newspaper Notices

The results of a discussion may not be immediately apparent. Sometimes a discussion attended by a small group starts a whole series of events: other groups discuss the problem; it becomes the subject of sermons and addresses; methods of dealing with the situation are advocated by various organizations. The long-time influences of a discussion may sometimes be traced by a careful examination of the local newspapers.

D. Attendance Records

Size in itself is not a good measure of the success of meetings. An average attendance of twenty would probably be satisfactory for a series of ordinary group discussions or for conferences intended for community leaders; it would be a sign of comparative failure if the management had planned for an audience of several hundred. Whatever the size, if the group steadily dwindles, the series can hardly be called a success.

Average attendance records over a considerable period of time are a fairly accurate general measure of the success of any series of meetings. The University of Chicago properly takes pride in the fact that the number of stations broadcasting the Round Table

has steadily increased, from one local station at the inauguration of the series in 1931 to a network of ninety in the summer of 1940. Surveys by the Crossley Rating Bureau indicate that as many as five million people may be listening to these broadcasts. The Town Meeting discussions have, with few exceptions, been broadcast before capacity audiences of 1,500 in the Town Hall auditorium. During the 1940–41 series, the meetings were broadcast before a number of much larger audiences in various cities.

E. Group Action

This test does not always apply because not all discussions are on topics on which individual or group opinion can make itself felt. Discussions on such subjects as the desirability of some union between the United States and the British Empire, or the future of capitalism, are of this sort. However, the discussion of local problems may finally lead to action. Thus, in one university, a series of student discussions on the curriculum led to the appointment of a student-faculty committee and, finally, to the modification of certain requirements for graduation.

Thus far, we have considered the effectiveness of a discussion, or a series of discussions, in forming an intelligent public opinion. The individual participant may well ask whether the experience has been of value to him. The first answer is that the discussion has been worth-while if he has learned something, if he has thought more deeply about the topic than he had before, if he is prepared to vote or act more intelligently on the problem. The individual should go further and ask himself whether he has learned to be less dogmatic and more tolerant, whether he has received valuable training in the oral expression of ideas, and whether he has learned the value of his own information and ideas. Participation in discussion is often an effective method of overcoming a feeling of inferiority.

III. Methods of Measuring Discussion

Members of discussion groups are often asked to express their opinions on the topic at the beginning and, again, at the end of the meeting. When these expressions are clearly unofficial records of what members of the group believe at the moment, taken with the

understanding that initial opinions may properly be revised during the discussion, they serve a useful purpose. The process of recording opinions at the beginning of the meeting often in itself stimulates discussion. The individual who has the common experience of finding that his opinions have rested on prejudice, or on partial information, is helped to re-evaluate his beliefs. The records of shifts of opinion during the discussion are of general interest and constitute valuable evidence concerning the worth of the meeting.

There are five commonly used techniques for measuring the effects of discussions on opinions:

A. The Simple Ballot

In its simplest form, the ballot consists of a single question or statement; for example, "Do you believe that the death penalty should be inflicted on persons convicted of kidnaping?" or, "Every able-bodied young man should spend a year in military service." Members of the audience are asked to write "Yes" or "No" on slips of paper, but not to sign their names. This precaution is taken so that individuals may feel free both to indicate what they honestly believe and to change their opinions without letting their neighbors know about it.

The Gallup Poll and the Fortune Survey consist of the answers of selected individuals to carefully worded questions. When the individuals interviewed constitute a fair sampling of the population, the result can properly be called a survey of public opinion. The ballot is the easiest way of getting the reactions of large numbers of people. It is not a very accurate method of measuring the effects of a single discussion, because it gives the individual no opportunity to register strengthening or weakening of his original belief that still falls short of a reversal of opinion.

B. The Shift-of-Opinion Ballot

Developed by Professor H. S. Woodward of Western Reserve University to measure audience reactions to debates, the shift-of-opinion ballot may also be used in discussions when the members are considering the merits of one of the solutions to the problem. It differs from the simple ballot in providing an opportunity to record the strengthening of opinions. Here is a shift-of-opinion ballot that was used in a series of discussions on the question, "How

Can the Buyer Get His Money's Worth?" when the value of consumers' co-operatives was under consideration:

Subtopic: What should be my attitude towards consumers' co-operatives?

Before discussion (Check one)	*After discussion* (Check one)
	—I am more strongly in favor of consumers' co-operatives
—I am in favor of consumers' co-operatives	—I am in favor of them
—I am undecided	—I am undecided
—I am opposed to them	—I am opposed to them
	—I am more strongly opposed to them

While this type gives the voter more alternatives than the simple ballot, it does not test his reaction to various arguments advanced in support of the central issue. Furthermore, unless a series of such ballots is used, there is no way of comparing the relative merits of various solutions. The Attitude Tests and Rating Scales hereinafter described are better suited for these purposes.

C. The Attitude Test

Attitude tests are the most precise tools for measuring the effects of discussion on opinions; they are, unfortunately, the most difficult to construct. An attitude test consists of a number of statements expressing different attitudes on a given subject. The individual taking the test records his reaction to all of the statements. His central attitude on the subject is obtained by combining his responses to these statements.

Here is the attitude test used by Howell in the experiment described earlier in this chapter:

What I Think about State Medicine

What is your frank opinion about State Medicine? Here are a number of statements often made about this subject. Please give your first reaction to these statements. The right answer for you is the one that expresses your present belief.

Write "Yes" before each statement with which you agree.

Write "No" before each statement with which you disagree.

(1) The personal contact between patient and doctor would not be removed by state medicine.
(2) State medicine won't be needed if the medical profession can readjust itself to meet present-day conditions.
(3) Since the demand for state medicine is only a product of the depression, it should not be adopted.
(4) The continuous increase in the number of people unable to pay for medical care makes state medicine absolutely necessary.
(5) Any medicine system must be judged by the extent to which good medical care actually is provided for all who need it.
(6) The paternalism resulting from state medicine is contrary to the fundamental principle of American democracy.
(7) An effective system of state medicine would cost too much.
(8) Private practice can continue even if medicine is controlled by the state.
(9) State control of medicine would result in political graft and corruption.
(10) State medicine would lower the general standards of medical practice.
(11) Under state medicine some form of much needed sickness insurance would be provided for all.
(12) Under state medicine greater advances can be made toward more complete control of communicable diseases.
(13) There should be a greater emphasis on preventive medicine.
(14) Varying social and economic conditions prevent the uniform adoption of state medicine.
(15) State medicine might be satisfactory if adopted only as a temporary policy.
(16) Since medical men can't solve the problem of providing adequate medical care, state medicine should be adopted.

Attitude tests should be used when they are available. The statements are likely to start discussion and the tests have the advantage of concealing from the individual the extent to which his attitude has changed.

D. The Linear Scale

This is a simple, and fairly accurate device for measuring attitudes. It consists of a line that supposedly represents the range of attitude, from extreme hostility to the proposal in question to complete belief in it. The individual is asked to mark the point on the line

that represents his attitude on the issue. Here is such a scale on the state medicine question.

My Attitude towards State Medicine

Please indicate by a mark that position on the scale below which represents your present attitude towards state medicine.

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Extremely favorable					Neutral					Extremely unfavorable

The obvious advantages of such a scale are the ease with which it can be constructed, and the fact that the individual is free to indicate his position at any point on the line, instead of being limited to certain expressed alternatives. But such scales are of little value in stimulating discussion; moreover, they seem more artificial to the members of the average audience than the other four methods of measuring attitude.

E. The Rating Scale

When members of a discussion group are considering the merits of a number of alternative solutions, the rating scale gives them the opportunity of ranking these proposed solutions in the order of preference. When this is done at the beginning and at the end of the meeting, changes of opinion as to the worth of the different alternatives become evident.

A typical example is the scale used by Timmons in the experiment described earlier in this chapter.

Topic: What, if anything, should be done about Ohio's method of releasing convicts from prison?

Below are five possible solutions to this problem. Place a "1" before the solution you believe best, a "2" before the second best, etc.

__Ohio should keep its present system of releasing prisoners.
__Ohio should adopt the essential features of the New York system.
__Ohio should adopt the Mississippi system of releasing prisoners.
__Ohio should adopt the New Jersey system.
__Ohio should keep its present system, adding only a scheme whereby the releasing authorities have complete data on all prisoners eligible for release.

It is obvious that members who are just beginning their discussion of prison reform could not rank these solutions intelligently.

The rating scale is properly used when group members are fairly familiar with the arguments for and against the various courses of action.

IV. Judging Student Discussions

The reference here is to discussions conducted in the classroom or as a part of the school's forensic program. These discussions have

DISCUSSION CRITICISM BLANK

Speaker ____________________ Judge ____________________

Note to the judge: You are asked to give the speaker a grade of from one to five on each of the five major points listed below.

1 means that the speaker is poor in that quality or ability
2 that he is still below average
3 that he is fair
4 that he is good
5 that he is excellent

I. *Ability to analyze the problem*
(Sensing the importance of the problem; finding the real issues; evidence of breadth and depth of thought) Score ____

II. *Information about the problem*
(Breadth and accuracy of information; intelligent application of the information) Score ____

III. *Ability to think co-operatively*
(Discriminating points of agreement and difference; ability to listen intelligently; willingness to abandon weak arguments and nonessential points of difference; ability to synthesize the contributions of various members) Score ____

IV. *Skill in speaking*
(Ability to adjust delivery to the size of the room and the spirit of the occasion; phrasing accurate, vivid sentences; freedom from annoying mannerisms) Score ____

V. *Good manners*
(Treating the opinions of others with respect; giving others the chance to speak; general courtesy) Score ____

Total Score ____

two objectives: they are designed to give the student training in this form of oral communication and to aid in his individual development; and they are intended to train him for the part that he should later play in the life of his community. Of course, all judgments of student discussions should be made in the light of these objectives.

The criticism blank on page 387 is intended for use in noncompetitive situations. It can, however, be adapted for use in intercollegiate discussions. Judges can then be asked to rank the different individuals on these qualities and abilities and the honors will go to the institution whose representatives have the highest team score.

It is important that we know what can reasonably be expected of a discussion; that we become intelligent critics of discussion as well as skilled participants. The readings which follow suggest sources of further information for those who are interested; the exercises are intended to give the student practice in evaluating the work of others.

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EXERCISES

1. Give a five-minute expository speech to the class on one of the suggested readings. Compare the information in the article with that found in this chapter.

2. Make a report, evaluating as completely as you can some discussion program that has taken place on your campus recently.

3. Take a copy of the Discussion Criticism Blank to a discussion and grade one of the speakers. Hand in this blank with any other criticisms or comments you may care to make.

4. Use one of the methods described in this chapter to evaluate a class discussion, or series of discussions on the same topic. The instructor may appoint a committee on evaluation for this purpose.

5. Study the findings of the Gallup Polls for evidence that the nationwide discussion of current questions has influenced public opinion. The *Public Opinion Quarterly* publishes summaries and analyses of these polls. Report your findings to the class.

6. How are changes in opinion resulting from discussion likely to compare in direction, extent, and permanence, with changes resulting from a speech presenting only one side of the argument? Some evidence on this question may be gained by comparing the studies cited in this chapter with those given in Chapter XVI, "Persuasion."

PART V

Debate

CHAPTER XXII

The Nature, Purposes and Limitations of Debate

The fourth step in the consideration of a problem on which group action is required is to choose from the proposed solutions the one best suited to the immediate situation. When this stage is reached discussion has served its proper function and the opportunity for debate should always be provided. The more enthusiastic advocates of the discussion process seem to assume that if intelligent men and women think together in an atmosphere free from strife or disputation they will all arrive at the same conclusion or make reciprocal concessions until substantial agreement is reached. True, this sometimes happens; but often there are points of difference which are real and fundamental and which no amount of discussion will obliterate. When this situation exists, the democratic procedure is to give each member, or each side, an equal opportunity in debate after which a vote is taken and the will of the majority prevails.

Majority rule in a milieu of free speech is one of the most basic ideas of democracy. Our legislative procedure provides a series of opportunities for discussion and debate and takes especial care to guard the rights of minorities. Americans believe that no one should be adjudged guilty in our courts without a trial in which a properly qualified advocate presents his case and pleads in his behalf. Our system of parliamentary law requires the chairman to call for debate on all motions or resolutions. We believe that properly conducted debate is essential to an intelligent decision.

I. The General Nature of Debate

Debate, whether used as a school exercise or in the deliberations of a judicial or legislative body, has these essential characteristics:

1. Whereas the discussion process begins with an analysis of a problem and works towards a solution, the debater begins with a solution which he urges others to accept or to reject. It is assumed that the debater has reached his position on the question after due consideration of other alternatives. The member of a discussion group is thinking his way through to a conclusion; after he has reached a decision he may uphold it in debate.

2. The conclusion must be so stated, in the form of a motion, resolution, bill, proposition, or indictment, as to give the voter a choice between two alternatives. The member of a jury must vote, "Guilty" or "Not guilty." The member of a legislative assembly may attempt to change a bill by the process of amendment but, when the moment for final action arrives, he can only avoid voting "Yes" or "No" by absenting himself or voting "Present." The same situation prevails in the ordinary business meeting.

3. After the proposition is properly worded and presented to the group whose judgment is desired, care is taken to see that both sides have an equal opportunity to present their arguments. In a trial or hearing, the judge and the attorneys reach an agreement on the amounts of time allotted to each side. If a legislative assembly is debating an important measure, leaders of each party decide who shall speak for them. School debates follow a schedule which alternates arguments for and against the motion and allows each side the same number of minutes.

4. When all who desire to participate in the debate have done so, or when the allotted time has expired, a vote is taken and the will of the majority becomes, until the matter is again up for consideration, the decision of the organization. The minority must abide by this decision as long as it prevails but, on proper occasions, may continue to argue for a reversal of judgment.

Debate, then, is a parliamentary procedure designed to give proponents and opponents of a measure as nearly equal opportunities as possible to present their evidence and to argue their conclusions before the voters make their decisions. Debate is usually

oral, although written controversies do take place. Advocates and opponents of a measure usually speak alternately so that the attention of the listeners may not remain focused on one line of argument to the exclusion of the other.

II. Purposes of Debate

Through our consideration of the characteristics of debate, we have already arrived at an understanding of its general purposes. The next step is to inquire how debate functions in certain broad areas of American life. We shall discuss debate *as an educational method, as a legislative procedure,* and *as a judicial process.*

A. Debate as an Educational Method

Debate and its predecessor, the disputation, are among the oldest of teaching devices. Diogenes believed that Protagoras of Abdera, who did his teaching about 2,400 years ago, was the first to institute debates between his pupils on questions akin to those facing their elders. Whether this is true or not, we know that Aristotle, the famous Greek philosopher who taught a century later, complained because the subjects chosen for debate in the school exercises of his day were not sufficiently true to life. He was familiar, too, with the problems arising from the practice of having decisions at the conclusion of these debates. "Victory also is pleasant," he said in *De Rhetorica* (1370b–1371a), "and not merely to bad losers but to everyone; the winner sees himself in the light of a champion and everybody has more or less of an appetite for that. . . . That is why forensic pleading and debating contests are pleasant to those who are accustomed to them and have the capacity for them."

Aristotle's advice that the subjects for debate be problems arising in everyday life was not followed during the Middle Ages. Perhaps it was because of the risks involved in arguing against the positions taken by those in power. During that period debate most often took the form of the disputation, an exercise designed to cultivate ability in abstract reasoning. William Fitz-Stephen, writing before 1190, tells of grammar school disputations in the London Schools. "There," he wrote, "the scholars dispute; some use demonstrations, others topical and probable arguments. Some

practice enthymemes; others are better at perfect syllogisms. Some for a show dispute and for exercising themselves, and strive like adversaries; others for truth, which is the grace of perfection." [1]

In the lower schools, the questions chosen for disputation dealt largely with points in grammar and rhetoric; in the universities the subjects were drawn from logic and philosophy. Many of the universities held a weekly disputation or debate, attended by the entire faculty and student body. On these occasions the presiding officer proposed theses which were attacked in turn by various masters. The students defended the positions taken by their masters. One of the main advantages claimed for the University of Toulouse in a circular issued in 1229 was that disputations were held there twice as often as at the University of Paris.

The term *disputation* was also applied to public debates, especially those on religious issues. In 150 B. C. such a debate was held in Alexandria on the comparative merits of the Jewish and Samaritan texts of the Old Testament. A famous debate took place in Barcelona, June 20, 1263, on the question whether the Messiah had appeared or not. This was held in the royal palace in the presence of James I of Aragon and his court.

Debating societies have long held an important place in British schools and universities. For a time it was forbidden to debate subjects less than fifty years old. Later, when the right to speak freely and to criticize the government was more definitely established, the societies patterned their organization and their procedure after the House of Commons, often considering the same questions that were before Parliament.

The Oxford Union, almost from its founding in 1823, imitated parliamentary debating. In their debates, after leaders chosen in advance have supported and opposed the passage of a motion, the debate is thrown open to members of the Union. Colleagues often disagree with each other, upholding or attacking a motion for quite different reasons. The team play characteristic of American intercollegiate debate is usually lacking. At the conclusion of the meeting, members vote their views on the merits of the question. When the question concerns a current governmental policy, prominent statesmen often debate side by side with the undergraduates. Stu-

1. Quoted by Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (London, 1908), p. 92.

dents who excel in these debates are often chosen for governmental positions, and the societies thus serve as a training school for a special type of public service.

Not all British undergraduate debating deals with current economic or political questions. Sometimes the debaters argue philosophical propositions and occasionally they cast all cares aside and polish their wits in debates that resemble after-dinner speaking at its best. The different types of questions are illustrated by the following list drawn from programs of the British debating societies for the school year 1934–35:

The British Broadcasting Corporation is a menace to democracy.
The madness of the Englishman has been the salvation of the world.
No angler can be a good man.
The impulse is more reliable than the syllogism.
The sun has set on the British Empire.
The policeman's lot is not a happy one.
America is the home of exploded fallacies.
The Chancellor of the Exchequer should reduce taxation.

Professor Everett Hunt describes a debate at the Cambridge Union in these words:

The final debate of the year on the motion that the house regretted that two and two make four brought forth a display of rhetoric that would have delighted De Quincey. The supporters of the motion exalted the mathematical mysticism of Protagoras over the low cunning of cost accountants; they deprecated the disastrous attempt to apply mathematical reasoning to committee government; they lamented the passing of chivalry; they elevated the art of regretting gracefully what can't be helped into a noble stoicism; they deplored the calculation of war-debt claims and comparative scores; they denounced mathematical certainty as inconsistent with a sporting Englishman's love of fair play.

The opponents of the motion were amazed that in Cambridge, the home of mathematical relativity, the truth of the proposition should be so readily conceded. Since there was no opportunity to debate on truth, but only on an attitude, the attitude of regret, they must comment on the futility of mournful resignation as contrasted with the joyous acceptance of the universe. The proponents of the motion were guilty of praising ideals that could not endure the truth of science; they were ungrateful for the small element of certainty that makes life liv-

able; as debaters they might at least be grateful that men could put two and two together.[2]

Quite different is the story of school debating in the United States. It reflects, naturally enough, differences in the social and economic backgrounds from which English and American college students come. The American colonist was a man of intense convictions, engaged in a great experiment. He participated in an almost continual round of debates. A new society was in the making. The relation of church and state had to be established; courts and legislative assemblies had to be created and the whole system of government that was to represent the people, brought into being.

The early American colleges were largely attended by young men who hoped to become leaders in this new society. What was more natural than that they should prepare themselves by engaging in debates on these questions that confronted their elders? Stemming from the debates in the town meetings, in the churches, in the courts and legislative assemblies, the literary society debates were serious and often profound discussions by young men who had little time for philosophical abstractions or playing with an idea. While debate in the English literary societies stressed individual performance and developed a style of speaking suited to the popular audience, that in American societies emphasized evidence and logical analysis and resulted in speeches that sometimes severely tested the attentive powers of the listeners. As the editor of the *Oberlin Review* wrote after Oberlin College's first intercollegiate debate with Western Reserve University in 1897: "The Oberlin debaters lacked the oratorical element . . . of popular appeal. Oratory must not be sacrificed for the sake of logic. The two, going hand in hand, make the successful debate." From the origin of the various colleges until about 1900 the debating societies were a dominant factor in American undergraduate life, as well as in the intellectual life of the average American community.

Intercollegiate debating is distinctively an American institution. The first step was the inauguration of intersociety contests. An interesting example was the Wisconsin Joint Debates between teams representing the men's literary societies. The first was held in 1867;

2. Everett Hunt, "English Debating Reconsidered," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXI (1935), p. 101.

the last of any consequence in 1926. Debaters were chosen almost a year in advance and spent the summer vacation working together on the question. After locally available materials had been mastered, there were letters and personal investigations. An article in the Wisconsin *Daily Cardinal* for December 11, 1895, says:

Last year one of the debaters made an extended trip through the Eastern cities, including New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Washington, to interview bankers and treasury officials on the question which related to the national banking system . . . almost 5,000 letters have been received by members of the two teams this year. . . .

After all this evidence, much of it conflicting, had been gathered, there remained the task of molding it into arguments. So much attention was devoted to this phase of preparation that the delivery was sometimes slighted. A student commentator on the 1880 debate said, ". . . it is to be regretted that the debaters did not take the time to memorize their speeches, for even if it made no difference in the force of their arguments, it lessened materially the attention which was given to them."

The first intercollegiate debate in the United States seems to have taken place in 1883 between teams representing Knox College and the Rockford Female Seminary on a question concerning the "social benefits and evils of the lavish expenditure of wealth by the rich." Ten years later Yale and Harvard had their first intercollegiate debate; Michigan and Wisconsin followed in 1894. Typical questions, used in intersociety and early intercollegiate debates were:

1868 Is a system of protective tariff a true policy for the United States?
1874 Is it judicious to fix by law railroad rates for the transportation of passengers and freight?
1887 Is legal prohibition a true remedy for the evils arising from the traffic in alcoholic liquors?
1895 Resolved, that United States senators should be elected by direct vote of the people.
1901 Should the United States construct the Nicaragua Canal?

This is not a history of debating. The point is simply that debating and forensic contests are nothing new. In one form or another, they have existed since almost the very beginning of organized at-

tempts at education. When freedom of speech did not prevail, and when the individual had little voice in his government, debates and disputations were justified on the ground that they promoted understanding of the subjects and stimulated students to greater efforts than they would otherwise have made. For students who live in democracies, school debates have the added advantage of providing direct training for later participation in the affairs of government. The form of the debates and the questions considered have reflected both the economic and social backgrounds of the debaters and the form of government under which they lived.

B. Debate as a Legislative Procedure

In dictatorships and absolute monarchies, laws originate in the mind of the ruler or his advisers and are promulgated by decree. In modern instances, the pretense of consulting the people is maintained by giving them the chance to vote "Yes" under circumstances which make it unlikely that they will vote "No." Whenever the people have a real voice in the affairs of government, it has become necessary for them to devise some plan for using this power effectively. If the voice of the people is even faintly to resemble the voice of God, mob psychology and mob action must be avoided. It has been said that the excesses of the French Revolution were attributable to the fact that the people had no system of parliamentary law and were free to follow immediately the suggestions of the orators who were themselves intoxicated by the phrases that they shouted.

The first steps in the evolution of parliamentary practice undoubtedly dealt with the necessity of maintaining order and compelling the attendance of members at business meetings. Complete freedom of the individual would mean chaos. Of especial interest are the rules for the conduct of members adopted by our Continental Congresses. They provided that "no member shall read any printed paper in the house during the sitting thereof without leave of the Congress; no member shall speak to another or otherwise interrupt the business of the house while the journals or public papers are reading for the benefit of Congress, or when any member is speaking in any debate; every member, when he speaks, shall rise from his seat and address himself to the chair, and, when he is finished, shall sit down again; no member shall speak more

than twice in any one debate, on the same day, without leave of the house."[3]

But the maintenance of order was only the first step. It soon became evident that the business of investigating a problem and proposing a solution in a carefully drawn bill or resolution could not be accomplished efficiently by large groups. This led to the committee system. To guard against hasty action, no measure could be brought to final vote on the day on which it was originally presented for consideration.

Our present rather complicated system of parliamentary law for all public meetings is based on these fundamental principles:

(1) Only one subject can be before the house at any one time.
(2) This must be stated in the form of a motion, bill, or resolution to give the member the choice of voting "Yes" or "No" on a single proposition.
(3) Each proposition is entitled to full and free debate.
(4) Each member has rights equal to those of each other member.
(5) The will of the majority must be carried out but the rights of the minority to be heard and to reopen the question at the next session must be preserved.

While every legislative body adopts its own rules, the usual procedure is about as follows.

A bill is introduced and referred to the proper committee. This committee considers all bills dealing with the same subject. Public hearings are usually held at which interested citizens and representatives of organizations may present their arguments. If a number of bills on the same subject are presented, the committee may choose the one it believes to be the best or may make up a bill of its own. The bill is reported out to the assembly with recommendations for or against its adoption. It may be given a place on the calendar and come up for final vote. Members of the assembly may move to amend the bill, may attempt to influence the votes of others in debate, and finally vote on the adoption of the amended measure. In a bicameral legislature such bills as are passed are referred to the other house where they go through the same process.

This rather involved process, irritating to the individual who

3. *Journals*, July 10, 17, 1776; May 26, 1778, Rules 3, 4, 5, 6.

wants to get a bill passed in a hurry, was created in the belief that hasty action is often unwise action and that as many people as possible should give consideration to a measure before it is enacted into law. It provides a number of opportunities for debate. Citizens may argue for and against the bill at public hearings. Members may debate the merits of the measure with each other outside of legislative sessions and may join in more formal debate when it is before the house for final action.

This system has always had its faults and its critics to point them out. John Adams complained in his *Diary* that "the business of the Congress is tedious beyond expression. . . . Every man in it is a great man, an orator, a critic, a statesman: and therefore, every man, upon every question, must show his oratory, his criticism, and his political abilities. The consequence of this is that business is drawn and spun out to an immeasurable length." Bohman, who examined the contemporary writings on the early American Congresses, found three objections to the debates: (1) noisiness and lack of proper order, (2) tedium and wastefulness of time, and (3) contentiousness and bickering among members.[4]

Some of these faults are inherent not so much in the legislative system as in human nature. Others can be corrected by experience. The delays that seem like a weakness to members whose opinions are already formed are justified when they serve as a period of instruction for members who have not considered the problem and when they bring to light new evidence which those who entered the debate with an opinion already formed had not considered. With all its slowness and seeming inefficiency, the legislative procedure of the democracy is, in the opinion of most of us, vastly superior to a system of legislation by executive decree.

We hear and speak much about freedom of speech, often putting the emphasis on the right to speak. Walter Lippmann believes that freedom of speech "achieves its essential purpose only when different opinions are expounded in the same hall to the same audience. . . . For, while the right to talk may be the beginning of freedom, the necessity of listening is what makes that right important. . . ." Freedom of speech is best conceived, he believes, "by having in mind the picture of a place like the American Con-

4. George Bohman, "Debates in the American Congress, 1774–1789," an unpublished paper.

gress, an assembly where opposing views are presented, where ideas are not merely uttered but debated, or the British Parliament, where men who are free to speak are also compelled to answer." [5] He believes that the democratic system cannot be operated long without effective opposition. Effective opposition provides speakers for the negative in debates on important issues. Without these opposing speakers there can be no real debate and legislation is likely to be hasty, ill-considered, and arbitrary.

C. Debate as a Judicial Process

The right to have one's guilt or innocence determined by a jury of neighbors, instead of by a representative of the central government, was a considerable victory in the long battle for human liberty. But this right could not be properly exercised until a procedure, based on many of the same principles that underlie the legislative process, was established.

A grand jury listens to a preliminary statement of the charge and the evidence to determine whether there is sufficient probability of the individual's guilt to warrant holding him for trial. If the individual is held for trial, he must know of what he is accused and must have an opportunity to prepare his defense. If he is too poor to employ an attorney, the government assigns counsel to see that his legal rights are protected and that his defense is heard.

The trial follows the general procedure of debate. Attorneys for the state, or the complainant, charge that the accused violated certain criminal or civil statutes; those for the defense argue that he is not guilty, or conceding guilt, present extenuating circumstances and plead for leniency. Each side presents evidence under rules that are intended to exclude that which is irrelevant or immaterial. Witnesses are cross-examined by attorneys for the other side in an attempt to discredit their testimony or to lessen its importance.

After the evidence has all been presented, the counsel argue on each side, attempt to minimize evidence unfavorable to their client and to attach weight to that given by their own witnesses. During this process, in the words of A. Lawrence Lowell, who

5. Walter Lippmann, "The Indispensable Opposition," *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1939, pp. 186–190.

believes our judicial system is the best yet devised for the determination of guilt or innocence, ". . . the attention of the jury is directed, first by one side and then by the other, to every material point in the case, thereby avoiding the danger of having the verdict result from fixing the attention on facts bearing one way to the comparative neglect of those on the other side." [6]

So accustomed are we to the provision that the judge and the jury must hear the whole evidence and the arguments on both sides before making their decision, that we often fail to sense its importance. It is this requirement that Lippmann believes to be the essence of freedom. "We may picture the true spirit of freedom," he says in the article previously quoted, "as existing in a place like a court of law, where witnesses testify and are cross-examined, where the lawyer argues against the opposing lawyer, before the same judge and in the presence of one jury." [7]

III. Limitations of Debate

Like discussion, debate has suffered alike from overzealous friends and misinformed critics. The debate is not the one sure cure for whatever may be wrong with the student learning to speak, or the one best method of dealing with all problems; nor, on the other hand, does it inevitably harm the debater and befog the listener. There are many situations for which debate is not the best procedure; on the other hand, there are oft-repeated criticisms which properly apply to bad debating and others that arise from a misunderstanding of the nature and purpose of debate.

A. Inherent Limitations

Debate properly takes place after a solution to a problem has been phrased and when there is a difference of opinion concerning the desirability of its adoption. The debate is not the best procedure when an audience is just beginning to learn about a topic. There is not sufficient time for the orderly exposition of the problem.

The debate is not the best method when the audience should have a survey of the advantages and disadvantages of various pos-

6. A. Lawrence Lowell, *Public Opinion in Peace and War* (Harvard University Press, 1923), p. 68.
7. Walter Lippmann, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

sible solutions to the problem. The affirmative urges the adoption of the plan stated in the motion, or bill; the negative, in urging the rejection of this proposal, may advocate a second solution. Even when this is done the debate is limited to a comparison of two alternatives; there may well be a third or even a fourth that should be brought into the picture.

Debate tends to stress disagreement or conflict of ideas. In real life, debate is the method of submitting disagreements to the judgment of the proper group. It is not assumed that the debaters will convince each other, or that they are in a mood to compromise. Public debate should not be used when it magnifies differences or assumes them where none exist.

B. Common Criticisms

A frequent criticism of debate is that debaters make arguments in which they do not believe for the purpose of winning favorable decisions. This charge is easier to make than to prove. It often comes from people who believe so strongly in one side of a question that they find it hard to understand how an intelligent person can hold any other belief. Consequently, they are tempted to believe that those on the other side are either knaves or fools. From the point of view of the audience, the important point is not how firmly the debater believes in the argument but whether it is strong and valid. If it is not, this fact will undoubtedly be pointed out by the opposing speakers; if it is, the listeners should have the opportunity to consider this argument in making their decision. The duty of the affirmative speakers is to make the strongest possible case for the adoption of the motion; the negative should present the strongest arguments against it. Democracy is based on the assumption that when this is done, the listeners can be trusted to make a wise decision.

We are not, for a moment, condoning dishonesty or sharp practice in debate or anywhere else. But dishonesty and sharp practice are not common in debate because infractions of the rules of honesty and fair play will almost inevitably be exposed by opposing speakers to the discomfiture of the culprit. Indeed, the temptation to unfairness is stronger in other types of meetings where opponents are not given an equal opportunity to reply.

A second criticism of school debates is that debaters are harmed

by being forced to debate against their convictions. The burden of proof should be on those making the charge, both to prove that this practice is common and that it is harmful. The fact that schools usually debate both sides of the question makes it possible to place most debaters on the side they prefer. When the coach comes to choose his teams, he usually finds that part of the squad have strong affirmative or negative leanings but that the rest see strong arguments on both sides. There seems no good reason for assuming that debaters are commonly forced to debate against their convictions.

Even if debaters are assigned to the side of the question in which they do not believe, it does not necessarily follow that the experience is harmful; on the contrary, they are almost sure to get a more thorough understanding of the question. If it is understood that the debaters are advocates, presenting arguments for and against the motion so that the audience may get a fair view of the question, there is no basis for criticism on the ground that the debaters are hiding their real beliefs. In his essay on "Debating Societies" Robert Louis Stevenson praised "that wholesome rule which some folks are most inclined to condemn—I mean the law of obliged speeches. Your senior member commands; and you must take the affirmative or negative, just as best suits his convenience. . . . You are forced, by regards for your own fame, to argue out, to feel with, to elaborate completely, the case as it stands against yourself; and what a fund of wisdom do you not turn up in this idle digging of the vineyard! How many new difficulties take form before your eyes! How many superannuated arguments cripple finally into limbo, under the glance of your enforced eclecticism."

Another criticism is that debaters are not engaged in a search for truth, that the truth probably lies somewhere between the contentions of the two teams, but that neither team will make that admission. In our opinion, this criticism is based on a misinterpretation of the purpose of debate. As far as the debater is concerned, the public debate is admittedly not a search for truth. He thinks he has found it and is presenting the reasons and the evidence which supports his belief. His opponent likewise thinks that he has found the truth. Each tries to bring the audience to accept his conclusions; the listeners may decide that the truth, or the proper course of action, lies somewhere between the two. The

listener comes with a more or less open mind to search for truth; the debaters believe that they have already found it.

The weaknesses of debate grow out of the weaknesses of human nature. Sometimes debaters are uninteresting or overly contentious; sometimes they give more information than the listener can absorb and use terms that he cannot understand. Critics of debate often compare a poor debate with a good discussion, and come to the conclusion that debate is a survival of the horse-and-buggy days. In our opinion, this is a mistaken conclusion. When the time for taking action on a question has arrived, some form of debate is the best method yet devised for securing a wise and workable decision. The remedy for poor debate is reform, not capital punishment.

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EXERCISES

1. Make a five-minute report to the class on one of the above references. Your purpose should be to give information not contained in this chapter and to comment on any differences of opinion that you may find.

2. Give a four-minute speech stating and defending your position on the issue raised in one of the following quotations:

(a) "The one thing essential is a deep personal sense of the problem to be dealt with. Training for public debating often ignores this fact; the result is that mere debating is confused with argumentation—a confusion which to my mind is the heart of what the old Greek philosophers meant by sophistry. For debate as it has come to be conceived is associated with winning in a controversy." (John Dewey.)

(b) "We have emphasized the social utility of public discussion rather than its personal value. For that reason we have raised certain questions concerning the educational value of debate and have recommended the symposium discussion. . . . We have felt that what we need today is not training in winning an argument but skill in working through the complexities of a given social question." (Pellegrini and Stirling, *Argumentation and Public Discussion*, pp. viii–ix.)

(c) "Members of the legal profession are trained to argue cases rather than to engage in discussion for the sake of uncovering the truth. And whatever may be our theories on the subject, in practice it appears that two passionately partisan arguments do not operate to produce dispassionate conclusions." (Mary Ely, *Why Forums?* p. 190.)

(d) "In proportion as we love truth more and victory less, we shall become anxious to know what it is that leads our opponents to think as they do. And we shall aim to supplement the truth we have found with the truth found by them." (Herbert Spencer, *First Principles.*)

(e) "Men may read on both sides but it seldom happens that men who are impressed by one side care to read the other. In discussions [debates] they are obliged to hear both sides. If men do read both sides, unless they read a discussion, they do not find all the facts stated by one side especially considered by the other." (G. J. Holyoake.)

(f) "Debate is deeply in conflict with the scientific spirit of our age. . . . By teaching young minds to start with their conclusions and then find the facts to justify them, it is the great aider and abettor of the noble art of rationalizing." (H. A. Overstreet, *Influencing Human Behavior.*)

(g) "The way to get at the merits of a case is not to listen to the fool who imagines himself impartial, but to get it argued with reckless bias for and against." (George Bernard Shaw.)

3. Make a short speech on one of the following topics:

(a) The distinction between discussion and debate.
(b) Debating societies in Great Britain.
(c) Debate and freedom of speech.
(d) Common criticisms of Congressional debate.
(e) A comparison of dialectic and debate.
(f) Debates in the Continental Congresses.
(g) A comparison of legislative and judicial debating.

4. What are the general rules governing debate in the business meetings of clubs and societies? What are the reasons for these rules?

5. What reasons are offered by those who believe that Congressional debates seldom influence the votes of Congressmen and Senators? If one should grant the accuracy of this conclusion, does it follow that Congressional debates should be discontinued?

6. Write a report analyzing the weaknesses of the debates that take place in the organizations to which you belong.

7. Write a paper on the nature and purpose of judicial debate.

CHAPTER XXIII

Forms of Debate

Having considered the general characteristics and purposes of debate, we come now to a description of the forms of debate that are commonly used in intercollegiate contests, and in presenting controversial subjects to general audiences.

I. Formal Debate

This term is used to designate the procedure that has been traditional in American colleges and in many of our public debates. The proposition provides for a change from the *status quo* or for the endorsement of a policy on which there is marked disagreement. The *affirmative* speaker, or team, argues for the adoption of the motion; the *negative*, for its rejection.

In American college debating, the members of each team usually work as a unit. They decide upon a "case," draw a brief, and allot a section of it to each speaker. The usual procedure is for each speaker to make two speeches; a *constructive* argument in which he presents and supports that section of the argument to which he has been assigned, and a *rebuttal* speech in which he seeks to refute opposing arguments and to re-establish the contentions of his own team which have been attacked.

For a good many years it was customary for debate teams to consist of three members. There is, of course, no magic in that number; a debate may take place between two individuals, or, if time permitted, there might be a half dozen speakers on each side. The current practice is to have two speakers on a team with the complete debate lasting about an hour.

A typical schedule for a two-speaker team follows:

Constructive speeches (10 minutes each)

First Affirmative, Noel Hemmendinger, Princeton
First Negative, M. S. Hodgson, Georgia

Second Affirmative, Arthur Northwood Jr., Princeton
Second Negative, A. H. Ulm, Georgia

Rebuttal speeches (5 minutes each)

Negative, Mr. Hodgson, Georgia
Affirmative, Mr. Hemmendinger, Princeton

Negative, Mr. Ulm, Georgia
Affirmative, Mr. Northwood, Princeton

Occasionally the arrangement is varied by having the second speaker on each team combine constructive argument and rebuttal into one speech or by having only one rebuttal on each side. The affirmative is given the last rebuttal speech on the theory that this compensates for the supposed disadvantage of having to devote a part of the first speech to an exposition of the question. A forum period may follow scheduled speeches in which members of the audience question the speakers or join briefly in the debate.

The debate tournament developed in the early 1930's. Instead of holding debates before home audiences, the representatives of a number of schools assemble at one place for a series of debates. Some of these tournaments are of considerable size and almost national in scope. The Pi Kappa Delta tournaments, for example, bring together several hundred college speakers for five days of contests in debating, extemporaneous speaking, and oratory. After each team has debated a fixed number of times, those with the best records are selected for an elimination series from which one team finally emerges as tournament champion.

The advantages of the tournament lie in the greater number of debates for the same expenditure of money, and in the acquaintanceships that are formed between students from different schools. The chief disadvantage is the fact that, since most of these debates are held almost literally without audiences, they do not provide experience in *public* speaking. But many debates in real life situations are held before judges, referees, or commissions, with only a few onlookers present. Tournament debating may constitute valuable training for this type of occasion. Moreover, if judged by persons

who consider the speaking in the light of its probable effect on an audience, these debates can prepare the speakers for future appearances before public audiences.

Public debates in which the speakers are known as exponents of opposing beliefs usually have one speaker on each side. On such occasions a variation of the procedure employed in the famous Lincoln-Douglas debates is followed, usually with briefer time allotments:

Mr. Lincoln, constructive speech, 1 hour
Mr. Douglas, constructive speech and rebuttal, 1½ hours
Mr. Lincoln, rebuttal, ½ hour

During the summer of 1939 thirteen radio debates were held between Congressman T. V. Smith of Illinois, defending the New Deal, and United States Senator Robert Taft of Ohio, opposing many New Deal measures. Each debate was thirty minutes in length and dealt with one question or point of difference. Constructive speeches and rebuttals were combined. The first speaker prepared a fifteen minute speech and sent it to his opponent who prepared a fifteen minute reply. The next week the speaking order was reversed.

The formal debate gives the audience the opportunity to hear an orderly and uninterrupted presentation of the arguments on each side of the question. It gives the debater training in thorough analysis and in the construction and delivery of argumentative speeches. The formal debate is best suited to provide the basic training in speaking and thinking that the student should have before he undertakes other forms requiring greater adaptability and more skill in extemporaneous utterance.

II. Cross-Examination Debate

One of the criticisms of the formal debate grows out of its formality. If a speaker has carefully prepared his constructive speech, he may find it difficult to adapt it to what has just been said by his opponent. Or he may choose to ignore the arguments of the other side and to proceed with the development of his own. It is possible for a formal debate to proceed as far as the rebuttals with little direct clash of argument and with a consequent lack of interest values.

To find a method that would hold the attention of the average listener more easily and, in addition, come closer to the situation confronting legislative assemblies, the Cross-Examination Debate was developed at the University of Oregon.[1] The schedule for a debate between two-speaker teams in which each speaker joins in the cross-examination follows:

(1)	First affirmative speech	10 minutes
	Cross-examination by second negative	5 minutes
(2)	First negative speech	10 minutes
	Cross-examination by first affirmative	5 minutes
(3)	Second affirmative speech	10 minutes
	Cross-examination by first negative	5 minutes
(4)	Second negative speech	10 minutes
	Cross-examination by second affirmative	5 minutes
(5)	Refutation and summary for negative	5 minutes
(6)	Refutation and summary for affirmative	5 minutes
	Total time	70 minutes

The advantages of this form are that it places a premium on ability to answer questions about the prepared argument, insures a direct clash of opinions and points of view, and maintains a high degree of spontaneity. The interest of the audience is maintained by the four struggles for supremacy between questioners and answerers in the cross-examination periods.

But there are also disadvantages. Wellman points out in his book, *The Art of Cross Examination*, that relatively few lawyers become expert in cross examination. To frame a series of concise, pointed questions which strike at important arguments in the opponent's case, or which require the opponent to admit the validity of one of the questioner's main arguments, is a difficult task for the beginning debater. Aside from this inherent difficulty, the tendencies to quibble over terms, to ask irrelevant questions, and to adopt the methods of the stage attorney who browbeats the witness, constitute disadvantages which must be guarded against.

The following rules have been found helpful in guiding the work of questioners and answerers in the cross-examination process:

(1) The questioner and answerer should stand well toward the front of the platform and, while addressing their remarks to each other,

1. Stanley J. Gray, "The Oregon Plan of Debating," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XII (1926), pp. 176–180.

should speak loudly enough so that members of the audience will feel included in the conversation.

(2) Questions and answers must be brief, else the cross-examination will be a series of speeches. While some questions can be answered by a simple "Yes" or "No," others will properly require a sentence or two for a reply that will make the position of the speaker clear to the audience.

(3) While the questioner is in direct charge during the cross-examination, there may be matters dealing with the relevancy of questions or the propriety of the procedure that should be referred to the chairman.

(4) Questions may deal either with arguments of the opponent or those of the questioner.

(5) Questions dealing with the opponent's arguments may be designed to reveal (a) lack of evidence, (b) weaknesses in the evidence, or (c) weaknesses in the reasoning process. Those dealing with the questioner's own arguments will be designed to force the opponent to admit the strength of the questioner's evidence or reasoning.

(6) Questions should often be arranged in series, beginning with admitted matter and working towards the alleged weakness or inconsistency of the opponent's argument.

(7) Sometimes the questioner may find it advantageous to begin a series of questions that seem to be off the topic but which deal with situations familiar to members of the audience. After he has secured favorable answers to these questions, he should point out the similarity between them and the matter under consideration.

(8) The questioner should show the bearing of the respondent's answers on the debate. This is a matter of particular importance. The questioner is likely to assume that implications which are clear to him are equally clear to his listeners.

(9) The questioner should show that silence, or evasiveness in answering important questions, may constitute admission of weakness of the respondent's position.

The cross-examination debate should be used after debaters have had some experience with formal debating. In addition to providing an interesting variation in the debate program, it offers direct training in meeting situations that will confront legislators and lawyers.

III. Legislative Session

Designed to give experience in the types of discussions and debates used at different stages in the legislative process, the legislative ses-

sion is a comparatively recent development in intercollegiate forensics. Sessions extend over about three days to allow time for a series of meetings in which the main steps involved in enacting legislation can be demonstrated in simplified form. The schedule followed at the Student Congress of Delta Sigma Rho, held in Washington, D.C., in the spring of 1939, will serve as a typical example: [2]

THURSDAY, MARCH 30

9:00–11:00 A. M.	*Opening Assembly.* (The election of officers. Announcements and explanation of the aims and purposes of the session.)
11:00 A. M.–1:00 P. M.	*Preliminary Committee Meetings.* There were four committees dealing with as many different problems. Each delegate served on one committee. The business of this session included the election of committee chairmen and secretaries, the reading of advance bills and discussions designed to give the committee members an understanding of their contents.
2:30– 4:30 P. M.	*First Main Committee Meeting.* The first business was to decide which of the advance bills should be considered and in what order. The committee might decide to discard all such bills and to construct a bill of its own.
8:00–10:00 P. M.	*Second Main Committee Meeting.* Continuation of the work begun in the afternoon. In some committees, certain members were designated to find needed information.

FRIDAY, MARCH 31

9:00–12:00 A. M.	*Third Main Committee Meeting.* It was hoped that certain of the committees would have their reports ready by the end of these meetings. Two were ready to report and their bills were placed on the agenda for the meeting of the Legislative Session in the afternoon. Other committees scheduled extra meetings.
2:00– 5:00 P. M.	*First Plenary Session of the Assembly.* Action on the bills reported by two of the committees. After the bill was read, the majority leader was allowed ten minutes in which to explain and defend the bill.

2. See Lyman S. Judson, ed., *The Student Congress Movement* (New York, 1940).

Amendments were presented in the order in which they had been filed with the clerk. Speeches were limited to three minutes. When the hour and a half allotted to each committee report had expired a roll-call vote was taken on the amended bill.

SATURDAY, APRIL 1

9:00–12:00 A. M. *Second Plenary Session of the Assembly.* Action on the bills reported by the two remaining committees. Adjournment.

The success of this form of debate depends on the thoroughness of the preliminary preparations. The subjects on which legislation is to be enacted should be announced two or three months in advance. Each institution is usually allowed as many delegates as there are topics. It is thus possible for each delegate to know his committee assignment as soon as he is chosen. At least as much preparation is required as would be considered essential for an important intercollegiate debate.

Delegates should also be familiar with the parliamentary procedures that will be used in committee meetings and general sessions. A handbook containing this information, rules for the presentation of advance bills, and statements of what is to be accomplished at each meeting should be sent to the delegates before the session. It is especially important that the speaker of the assembly and the committee chairmen have experience in presiding at such meetings.

The legislative session provides opportunities for various types of individual participation. At the opening session there are nominating speeches. Committee meetings range from informal discussions, the sharing of information, and attempts to form a bill from the joint contributions of members, to debates between advocates of different types of legislation. Between sessions members talk informally to share ideas and to gain support for their own bills. At plenary sessions, delegates participate in parliamentary debate.

Because of the labor involved in making the preliminary arrangements and the fact that the meetings must extend over two or three days, institutions seldom participate in more than one legislative session a year. This means that delegates are usually upper-classmen with considerable experience in other forms of debate. The almost

unanimous opinion of observers is that the legislative session is an excellent educational device for these students.

The most commonly noted weaknesses are (1) the difficulty in selecting committee chairmen who are skilled in conducting meetings of this sort, (2) the tendency of a few individuals to dominate the meetings and to push the more timid members into the background, (3) the temptation to spend too much time in parliamentary wrangling and in emulating the less desirable features of Congressional debate.

IV. Direct-Clash Debate

This form was originated by Edwin H. Paget of North Carolina State College in 1931.[3] It differs from the formal debate by shortening the speeches and dividing the event into a series of clashes on individual arguments.

The proposition is stated in the usual form. Teams may consist of from two to five members. The recommended procedure is as follows:

(1) *Preliminary Period of Definition and Analysis.* An affirmative speaker has five minutes to define the terms and to outline the affirmative argument. A negative speaker has an equal period in which to accept or take exception to the affirmative analysis and state the general position of the negative.

(2) *The First Clash.* An affirmative speaker has three minutes to present an argument which he believes vital to the affirmative case. A negative speaker answers this in two minutes. A second affirmative speaker answers the first negative and so on until each side has spoken three times. At the conclusion of these speeches the judges decide which team has won the clash. The judges may stop the clash and declare a winner at any time after the first two speeches if they feel that one side has evaded the issue or replied ineffectively to the preceding speech.

(3) *The Second Clash.* The procedure described above is repeated with the negative initiating the argument.

(4) *Succeeding Clashes.* The affirmative and negative alternate in stating arguments and the procedure is repeated until one side has won three clashes. That team is declared the winner of the debate.

3. E. H. Paget, "The Direct-Clash Debate Plan," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XVIII (1932), pp. 648–653.

The main advantages claimed for this form of debate have already been noted. Its use adds variety to the forensic program and compels the speaker to adjust to different situations. The disadvantage is that the clashes on specific arguments may not be properly related to each other or to the main question. It would seem difficult for the debaters and the audience to maintain a unified view of the whole debate.

V. Problem-Solving Debate

A combination of discussion and debate, this form was developed at the University of Washington about 1935. It grew out of a conviction that debaters take sides too early in preparing for regular debates and that co-operative efforts to solve the problem should be maintained until it is obvious that a clear-cut difference of opinion exists.

The topic is stated in the form of a question or problem; for example, "How can we most effectively maintain an adequate standard of living for the American worker?" Teams consist of three speakers. The first speaker on each team gives an analysis of the problem; the second presents the solution that seems logically to follow from his colleague's analysis; the third weighs, evaluates, and compares the solution advanced by his colleague with the one proposed by the other team.

The program for the problem-solving debate would be about as follows:

Analysis of the problem, by first speaker of team X	10 minutes
A second analysis, by the first speaker of team Y	10 minutes
Presentation of proposed solution, by second speaker of team X	12 minutes
Presentation of second proposed solution, by second speaker of team Y	12 minutes
Evaluation and comparison of the two solutions, by third speaker of team X	8 minutes
A second evaluation and comparison, by the third speaker of team Y	8 minutes
Total time	60 minutes

The third speaker on each team may question any preceding speaker. His purpose in so doing is to clarify the issue. His con-

clusion may either agree or disagree with that of his colleagues. His chief aim should be to discover the best solution regardless of his past beliefs.

If a decision is desired, the following ballot is used.[4] The judges rank the speakers in pairs and the team receiving the lower total score wins.

BALLOT FOR PROBLEM SOLVING DEBATE

	Team "A"	Team "B"
	Rank 1 or 2	Rank 1 or 2
1. Analysis speeches a. Unbiased approach b. Adequate presentation of facts c. Successful discovery of difficulties d. Adequate criteria for judgment e. Effective presentation		
2. Solution speeches a. Freedom from prejudice b. Co-operative effort c. Logical argument d. Adequacy of solution to meet analyzed difficulties e. Effective presentation		
3. Evaluating speeches a. Fair, judicial attitude b. Analysis and comparison of solutions presented c. Soundness of conclusions d. Co-operative effort e. Effective presentation		
TOTAL		

Judge

When should the problem-solving debate be used? It meets the needs of audiences who are not familiar with the problem and

4. F. W. Orr and A. L. Franzke, "The University of Washington Plan of Problem-Solving Debate," University of Washington Extension Service, No. 8. 1938.

require more informational and analytical material than can be included in the formal debate. It is a good form to use early in the forensic season before the debaters have developed considered differences of opinion on the proper solution to the problem. But the expenditure of more time on exposition and analysis means that correspondingly less time is left for a presentation of arguments for and against one course of action. The best arrangement would be for the audience to hear a problem-solving debate and, later, a formal debate on what seemed to be the best solution arrived at in the first meeting.

The problem-solving debate has one real disadvantage when used in intercollegiate contests. Both sides might propose almost the same solution. In that event, opinion would be formed without a proper hearing of the arguments against this solution or of the advantages of alternative courses of action. This could be avoided by assigning one commonly proposed solution to each school.

VI. Mock Trial

This plan brings to debate something of the dramatics of the court trial. Guthrie described the procedure in such a debate in which an injunction was sought restraining the United States from protecting, by force of arms, the lives and properties of her nationals abroad in the event of foreign war.[5] Three students carried the major roles—one serving as judge of the court, another as Attorney General of the United States, the third as the attorney seeking the injunction. Each attorney was privileged to call three witnesses. Each witness represented some prominent authority and was required to confine his testimony to statements of historical fact or to the written word of the person he represented. A student, serving as bailiff, opened court and swore in the witnesses. Twelve members of the audience served as jury.

The schedule for speeches was as follows:

(1) The judge gave a three-minute speech on the background of the question.
(2) The attorney for the plaintiff had three minutes in which to outline the case he hoped to establish through the examination of his witnesses.

5. Warren Guthrie, "The Reserve Plan for Intercollegiate Discussion," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XXV (1939), pp. 392–396.

(3) The attorney for the defense had three minutes for a similar presentation of his case.
(4) The attorney for the plaintiff called his witnesses. He was allowed four minutes for the direct examination of each witness. The attorney for the defense was permitted to ask three questions of each witness in cross-examination.
(5) The same plan was followed for the defense.
(6) The attorney for the defense had three minutes in which to summarize his case and make a final plea to the jury for the rejection of the injunction.
(7) The attorney for the plaintiff made a similar summary and plea for the granting of the injunction.
(8) The judge instructed the jury to decide the case strictly on the evidence presented and to return its verdict.

This form of debate places a definite limitation on the amount of material that is considered. Each witness needs only to master the published opinions of the authority he represents. Each side is privileged to call only three witnesses. From the point of view of the audience, however, this limitation of material may be an advantage. Many debates present too much material for the average listener. If the witnesses are well chosen, the audience should get a clear understanding of the points at issue.

The plan brings to debate some of the qualities of the dramatization. Sometimes witnesses attempt to impersonate the men they represent as well as to quote their ideas. As in most of the recent variations from the traditional debate, two speakers are pitted against each other in a manner that places a premium on extemporaneous speaking.

Guthrie reports that audiences have been especially interested in debates conducted according to this plan. Students who plan to enter the legal profession believe it offers training of especial value. These debaters had already had considerable experience in public speaking and in the more traditional forms of debate. Here again we have a form that may well be used to compel the debater to adjust himself to new situations.

VII. Combinations of Discussion and Debate

In Chapter XVIII we described the forensic-experience progression, a series of speaking events designed to follow the steps in the

thought process. The progression often ends with a debate on the most favored solution to the problem. The legislative session, already considered, usually includes both discussion and debate. Other variations are reported from time to time in the publications of the various forensic societies and in the *Quarterly Journal of Speech.*

One college has developed a combination of discussion and debate called the Intercollegiate Forensic Assembly. Sixteen speakers from four institutions participate in panel discussion, extemporaneous speaking, formal debate, and cross-examination debate on the same general question. A typical schedule follows:

10:00 A. M.	Panel discussion before speech class on "What factors are important in formulating America's foreign policy?" Tentative outlines are sent to the coaches of visiting schools; final outlines are agreed upon by members of the panel who meet at 9:00 A. M. for a preliminary discussion. Panels consist of one representative from each school and a chairman. The panel lasts about thirty minutes, leaving twenty minutes for audience participation.
11:00 A. M.	A second panel discussion with different participants.
12:00 Noon	Drawing of topics for six-minute extemporaneous speeches. All topics deal with phases of the debate proposition.
1:30 P. M.	Extemporaneous speaking. Two groups of eight.
2:45 P. M.	Formal debates on "Resolved, that the nations of the Western Hemisphere should enter into a permanent union."
4:15 P. M.	Cross-examination debates on the same question.

Coaches from the participating schools present critiques, evaluating the work of each speaker. The Intercollegiate Forensic Assembly encourages versatility because it requires each speaker to participate in four types of speaking situations; it avoids the danger of encouraging speaking without adequate preparation by using different aspects of the debate topic for all of the events.

VIII. Which Form?

The authors believe that no one form of debate is inherently superior to all others. A debater should usually begin with the formal debate. When he has learned how to analyze a question, brief an

argument, and make a debate speech, he should be given the opportunity to speak in different forms of debate on as many diffent types of occasion as can be arranged. The debater who must always follow a set routine—with speeches of a certain length, time cards, and a pitcher of water for each team—may be unable to apply his skill to out-of-school situations. Variety here is more than the spice of life; it is preparation for life.

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EXERCISES

1. Prepare a five-minute speech on the origin and development of one of the forms of debate described in this chapter.

2. Prepare to lead an informal class discussion on the values and limitations of one of the forms of debate.

3. Assume that you are in charge of the debate program for your institution. Which forms would you use in the course of the debate season? In what order? Why?

4. Make a four-minute argumentative speech supporting your views on one of the following questions:

(a) Should formal debating at our institutions be discontinued?

(b) Should the cross-examination form be adopted by state high-school forensic leagues?

(c) Should our institution encourage the British type of debating?

5. Read stenographic reports of the form of debate in which you will participate in class. Hand in a written analysis of these debates, including your observations about errors that you hope to avoid in your class appearances.

6. Read an example of current legislative debate in the *Congressional Record.* Write a report comparing what you read with student debating.

7. When your class debates are over, write an analysis of your own performances. At what points have you improved most? What weaknesses remain to be remedied?

8. From the debate on a bill in a recent *Congressional Record* prepare a thirty-minute script designed both to present the arguments on the measure and to illustrate the methods of legislative debate.

9. Prepare a debate in which the problem is presented by means of dramatization, or a series of brief dramatized incidents. Present the debate in class. Follow with a discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of this method.

CHAPTER XXIV

Building the Case

The process of building the case begins after the debaters have studied the question and made a brief. Teams of speakers have been chosen and the members are ready to begin final preparations for their debates. The first step is to make as complete an analysis of the prospective audience as is possible. The next step is for the members of each team to agree upon the case to be advanced in support of the desired conclusion.

I. What is Meant by the "Case"?

The case is a series of statements which, if supported to the satisfaction of the listeners, should logically lead them to the desired conclusion on the main proposition. The statements should present the strongest arguments found in constructing the brief. The wording of the arguments and the order in which they are presented may differ from that of the brief. Indeed, this is one of the main differences between the two forms. While the brief is an impersonal record of the evidence and arguments, the case represents an adaptation of this material to the information, prejudices, and interests of the prospective audience. In constructing the brief, the requirements of logical arrangement are uppermost; in building the case, the logical order may be modified to make possible an early treatment of the argument with which the group is most concerned. If the listeners are comparatively neutral on the topic, the logical order should be followed in presenting the arguments, but they should be so worded as to be interesting and meaningful to that particular group.

While each debater may prepare his own brief, it is necessary for the members of a team to agree upon the case. The process of choosing and framing the strongest and most convincing series of propositions often requires considerable time, but it is time well spent. A loosely constructed and carelessly worded case gives the impression of loose thinking; a case composed of carefully worded statements, connected by the proper conjunctions, is accepted by the audience as an indication that the debaters have thought their way through to the basic issues underlying the controversy.

Here are the main headings in cases drawn by affirmative and negative teams on the proposition: "Resolved, that a judge or commission should be substituted for the jury in our judicial system." The reader should judge them in the light of the advice contained in the preceding paragraphs.

The Case for the Affirmative

I. The jury is an outworn relic of the past; *moreover,*
II. The jury system is inherently defective; *and*
III. Judges or commissions are equipped to render better decisions on the complicated questions that come before modern courts.

The Case for the Negative

I. The jury has been made the scapegoat for the sins of our whole judicial system; *moreover,*
II. The jury gives the best judgment on many types of cases; *and,*
III. The right to trial by jury is basic to the preservation of democracy.

Not all cases can be stated as simply as these. In the spring of 1940 our foreign policy was a matter of great public concern and many colleges debated this resolution, "Resolved, that the United States should adopt a policy of strict economic and military isolation towards all nations outside the Western Hemisphere engaged in armed civil or international conflict." This question makes it possible for the affirmative to favor three policies: one for nations outside the Western Hemisphere engaged in armed civil or international conflict; a second for nations outside the Western Hemisphere not so engaged; and a third for nations within the Western Hemisphere who may or may not be engaged in war. The affirmative should take a position on these three policies and state the general point of view from which they approach the question. Here is the case used by one affirmative team:

I. Our case is founded on these three basic premises which we believe are accepted by most Americans:
   1. We want to keep out of war.
   2. We want the present war to result in a lasting peace and we believe that an allied victory is more likely to give us such a peace.
   3. We want to maintain a maximum of foreign trade, consistent with our desire to keep out of war.

II. We urge the adoption of this resolution because:
   1. The present policy of "cash and carry" is the first step on the road to war; *and*
   2. The policy phrased in this resolution is the best way to keep us out of war; *however, we also believe that,*
   3. A policy of economic co-operation with Canada, now at war, will help the Allies to win without involving us in war; *and that*
   4. A policy of economic co-operation with all nations of the Western Hemisphere will maintain our foreign trade without exposing us to the dangers of war.

This case may soon have historical interest as evidence of beliefs that were held by a great many people in the spring of 1940. It is also of interest as an example of an attempt to harmonize different, and possibly conflicting, objectives.

II. General Rules for Building the Case

Affirmative and negative cases present certain differences that will be considered in a later section. However, there are a number of rules that apply equally to both:

A. The Statements Constituting the Case Should Be So Arranged as to Indicate a Sequence or Progression of Ideas

The listeners should feel that the first argument is the proper place to begin, and that the others follow in their natural order. This does not mean that there is one inevitable sequence which must be followed in all debates on a question. Of course, the affirmative must prove the existence of a problem before presenting the merits of their solution, but, within this general framework of the argument, variations may be made for different audiences. Let us suppose that a speaker is supporting government ownership of the railroads. The first point in proving to an audience of shippers that a problem exists might be the argument that freight rates are

too high; for an audience of bondholders, the first point might be that the financial structure of the railroads is unsound. Similarly, the negative team may vary the order of their objections to the affirmative proposal, placing first the one that touches the interests of their listeners the most closely.

The traditional arrangement is to put the strongest argument last. Recent experiments, showing that listeners remember the first part of a speech better than the rest and are influenced more by whichever side of an argument is presented first, cast doubt on the wisdom of this arrangement. If the strongest argument is not announced until the last speech the audience will have little time to come to a full realization of its importance. Whenever possible, the strongest arguments should be presented early in the debate. They are more difficult to refute and more likely to be remembered.

B. The Main Points, or Statements, in a Case Should Be Few in Number

A case consisting of three or four fundamental propositions, well supported by evidence and skillfully reiterated, is more likely to be remembered than one which attempts to establish a larger number of contentions. The intelligent listener is not influenced by the quantity of arguments alone; their quality also counts.

C. The Relations between Statements Should Be Clearly Indicated

Mentioned earlier in this chapter, this rule is so important as to merit amplification here. If the successive statements are links in a chain of reasoning, that fact should not be left for the listener to discover for himself. If the negative is presenting three indictments of the affirmative proposal, the fact that the failure to prove one indictment does not invalidate the others should be clearly stated. In the case outline, these connections may be shown by conjunctions or phrases; in the speech, they require fuller treatment so that the unity of the argument will be apparent to the listeners.

D. The Phrasing of the Statements Should Have "Headline Value"

Headlines attract our attention because they are short; because they use familiar words; because they tell a story in a sentence or express an argument in a phrase. Did you ever see a headline reading, "Present administration produces statistically significant increase

in employment?" Wouldn't it be more like, "New Deal brings jobs?" The case that is phrased in short sentences, composed of everyday words, is likely to be remembered. Arguments expressed in the technical language used by specialists are likely to be forgotten.

E. The Case Should not Attempt to Prove Too Much

In their eagerness to win votes, debaters often make extravagant claims. Reformers argue that their remedy will cure most of the things wrong with society at the moment; opponents prophesy that grass will grow in the streets if the proposal is adopted. So pronounced is this tendency in political debate that the phrase "campaign promises" has come to stand for arguments that will be forgotten after election day.

But the habit of overstatement is not confined to candidates for office. Advocates of the public ownership of utilities picture private owners as robber barons and promise increased service at decreased cost, with enough money left over to make possible a decrease in taxes. Opponents often make blanket charges of bureaucracy, governmental inefficiency, socialism, and dictatorship.

Debate should be an exercise in restraint and discrimination. Affirmative debaters need not argue that the present situation is entirely bad, or that their proposal is entirely good. Negative speakers need not picture the present situation as pure white; the proposed solution as black or red. The affirmative team which limits its attack on the existing situation to the establishment of certain specific weaknesses, and shows that their proposal would bring about sufficient improvement to make its adoption worthwhile, is doing all that is necessary to justify an affirmative vote. Negative debaters need only convince the audience that the weaknesses in the proposal outweigh its good points. Cases that do not attempt to prove too much have two decided advantages: they limit the debate to real issues on which there is conflicting evidence, and they are the most difficult for the other side to attack.

III. The Affirmative Case

One of the best-known axioms of debate is that the burden of proof rests upon the affirmative. This means that the responsibility

for presenting the arguments in support of the resolution, and the evidence upon which these arguments are based, rests with those who present the resolution and argue for its adoption. Unless members of the group are already dissatisfied with the existing situation, they will say to the affirmative, "You've made this motion. Now let's see what you can say for it. Unless you can give us some good reason for making this change, or taking this action, we will vote against you."

The first step in drawing up the affirmative case is to decide what constitutes a reasonable burden of proof. We have already cautioned both teams against attempting to prove too much; it is equally important that the affirmative avoid the other extreme. While the decision as to what constitutes this reasonable burden of proof depends on the nature and extent of the proposed action, it is certain that the audience should require affirmative answers to most of the following questions before they vote for the resolution:

(1) Are there serious weaknesses in the present system?
(2) Are these weaknesses inherent in the system?
(3) Will the proposed change remedy these weaknesses?
(4) Will it do this without introducing other equally serious, or even more serious, evils?
(5) Does the proposed plan have advantages, in addition to remedying the existing weaknesses?
(6) Is the proposed plan the best one available?

You will recognize these questions as the "stock issues" used in analyzing the question. They are also helpful in deciding what must be proved by the affirmative. Indeed, an affirmative case may sometimes consist of a series of statements answering such of these questions as are applicable. The wording of the stock issues should not usually be employed; the phrases are too general and too trite to be valuable as captions.

A. Types of Propositions of Policy

These stock issues do not apply equally to every question. Most debates before legislative bodies, and most school debates, are on what we have classified as questions of policy. But there are at least three kinds of propositions of policy: (1) resolutions advocat-

ing the adoption of a general policy; (2) resolutions urging the adoption of a specific measure or plan; and (3) resolutions asking a vote of confidence. Let us consider the task of the affirmative with each type of question.

1. *Resolutions advocating a general policy.* Every organization, from a local club to our national government, is founded on certain general principles that guide its actions on specific questions. Some of these principles, or ideals, are written down in laws and in constitutions; others are unwritten traditions. In debates advocating the adoption of a general policy, the affirmative urges an organization to alter, in some significant manner, one of these basic principles. The purpose is to effect a change of attitude that will make possible the later enactment of specific legislation. Questions of this type have recently been widely debated: "Resolved, that wealth should be conscripted in time of war," "Resolved, that the powers of the federal government should be increased."

Should the affirmative in such debates be expected to present a specific plan for putting the proposed policy into operation? Only, we believe, when they think that the explanation of such a plan will be of value in convincing the audience of the merits of their idea. Usually, a plan offered should be presented only in its broad outlines; otherwise the negative may attack a few points in the proposal and the debate will shift from the merits of the general idea to a consideration of these details. If the negative insist on a detailed plan, the affirmative may properly reply that the purpose of the debate is to secure acceptance of the general idea and that a plan, drawn by experts, should be debated later. If the negative argue that the proposed idea is wholly impractical, the affirmative may refute this contention by showing, if they can, that different workable plans are already in existence.

In debates on propositions of policy, the question of constitutionality is usually waived. However, the practicability of the measure is properly an issue. Debating should be concerned with reality. The affirmative speakers should do more than picture the advantages of their plan; they should consider whether there is any likelihood of securing its adoption within a reasonable time. For example, the world-wide reduction of armies and navies is undoubtedly an attractive ideal, but there seems to be little point

in urging the adoption of a policy of disarmament at present. Negative speakers should see that questions of policy are debated in the light of existing situations.

2. *Resolutions advocating a specific plan.* Once the organization accepts a general principle, there still remains the task of embodying it in specific legislation. There are differences of opinion as to the extent to which the principle should be applied, or on the relative merits of different methods of attaining the same result. In debates of this type, the question is on the adoption of a certain bill, motion, or report. Questions of general policy were debated in the convention that framed our Federal Constitution; when the document was submitted to the colonies, matters of policy were still discussed but the central question was on the adoption of the proposed Constitution. In legislative assemblies, the debate is on the merits of a bill or resolution; in business meetings of any group, debate deals with a specific motion. Questions of this sort may also be used in school debates. They usually read, "Resolved, that the —— bill should be adopted."

The affirmative debaters on such propositions must support both the principles on which the measure is based, and the specific provisions of the bill. They may admit that the bill is not perfect but argue that it is the best that can be obtained at the moment, that its merits outweigh its weaknesses which can be remedied in the light of experience. Should the negative advocate another measure, the affirmative must attempt to show the superiority of the bill they are defending. The stock issue, "Is the proposed plan the best one available?" is especially important in these debates.

3. *Resolutions asking a vote of confidence.* This type of question is commonly associated in our minds with the British Parliament, where the Prime Minister may ask for a general vote of confidence. If he fails to get such a vote, he resigns and a general election may be called. This is the broadest and most inclusive of the three types of questions of policy. Affirmative speakers may be called upon to defend, in the same debate, administration policies on such questions as national defense, foreign trade, treatment of minority groups, conservation of natural resources, and unemployment. For example, when a president is a candidate for re-election, the voters of the United States are considering the question, "Resolved, that

the present administration deserves a vote of confidence." Of course, the specific action is on continuing the administration in power for another four years.

The affirmative on these questions need not defend all of the actions of the individual or party, but they must show that the balance is on the favorable side of the ledger, that, on the important questions, the right policies have been adopted. It is obvious that these debates are likely to be general and extensive, rather than intensive, considerations of any one issue.

B. General Outline of Affirmative Speeches

The next step is to decide how much of the case is to be presented by each speaker. Let us begin our consideration of the problem of partitioning the case among the speakers with a general, or stock, outline of the procedure in affirmative speeches.

First Affirmative Speech

I. Introduction
  A. Show why the question is of interest and importance to the listener.
  B. Give such delineation and historical background as may be necessary for an understanding of the question.
  C. Give careful definitions of any terms not already familiar to the listeners.
  D. State the main issues and give the main points in your case, containing your answers to these issues.

II. Discussion
  A. State your first main point and show its significance. (In many instances this will be to prove the existence of a problem on which action is needed.)
    1. Support this point with the best evidence available.
    2. Summarize your argument, restating your point or contention.
  B. If your speech has a second main point, follow the same procedure in presenting it. Be sure that the relation of each point to the main proposition is clearly indicated.

III. Conclusion
  A. Summarize your argument.
  B. Show what progress you have made towards proving the affirmative case.

Second Affirmative Speech

I. Introduction
   A. Devote a minute or two to an analysis of the first negative speech.
   B. Restate the main contentions in the affirmative case.
   C. Summarize what has been done by the first speaker.

II. Discussion
   A. Present your first main contention and explain its significance.
      1. Support this point and summarize, as in the first speech.
   B. If there is a second main point, develop it in the same manner. Be sure that the relations of these points to each other, and to the case, is clearly indicated.

III. Conclusion
   A. Summarize your own argument.
   B. Show what progress you and your colleague have made toward proving the affirmative case.

If the team consists of two speakers, this concluding summary will, of course, include the entire affirmative case. When the case has been presented, the last speaker should argue that the evidence justifies an affirmative vote on the resolution.

C. Meeting the Specific Situation

In adapting this general outline to meet the needs of a specific situation, these three factors should be considered: (1) the amount of information the audience already has on the question; (2) whether the audience is likely to favor or oppose the motion; (3) whether the negative will probably admit the existence of a problem and argue for another solution.

The first of these factors applies especially to the construction of the first affirmative speech. If this speaker is well prepared, he has much more historical and background information than he can possibly use. He must decide how much of it is probably familiar to his listeners, and how much of what is unfamiliar is essential to an understanding of the points at issue. Listeners are properly critical when a speaker underestimates their grasp of the question; they are confused, if the debate proceeds before they understand the proposition. When the audience has a very limited, or an inaccurate, knowledge of the problem, a large part of the first speech may properly be devoted to what might be classed as

exposition. But, in these circumstances, exposition may have great value as argument. The listener who understands a proposal of real merit has gone a long way towards accepting it.

The second factor, i. e., the attitude of the audience towards the proposition, is important in deciding the order in which arguments should be presented and the amount of evidence that will be required to have these arguments accepted. Listeners who are already favorably inclined offer the least difficulty. They are not inclined to be critical of the amount or quality of the evidence. The best order is that which enables the speakers to kindle beliefs into strong enthusiasms so that the listeners will feel they are supporting a great cause. The hostile audience offers quite another problem: the members are ready, not to believe, but to condemn. They will be on the lookout for flaws in the evidence and overstatements in the arguments. The affirmative case presented to a hostile audience should begin by stressing points of agreement; the first argument should be the one most likely to be accepted; the point on which there is the greatest disagreement should come last. Between these two extremes, there is the audience composed of persons who have not made up their minds on the issue. They demand more evidence than would be needed to satisfy the favorable audience, but are more ready than members of a hostile audience to accept conclusions based on satisfactory evidence and sound reasoning. Here, arguments should be presented in their logical order. When the audience contains representatives of all three groups, the speakers face the difficult task of pleasing the greatest number without offending the minority.

The probable attitude of the negative team on the first stock issues: i. e., "Are there serious weaknesses in the present system?" "Are they inherent in the present system?" should also be considered in dividing the case among the affirmative speakers. The affirmative team is sometimes confronted with a dilemma. If the first speaker, in addition to presenting the introductory analysis of the question, spends the rest of his time proving the existence of serious inherent weaknesses in the present system, the first negative speaker may admit the whole speech and argue that the affirmative is advocating the wrong remedy. If, on the other hand, the first affirmative assumes that the negative will admit the existence of a problem and proceeds to show the merits of the pro-

posed solution, the negative speaker may criticize his opponent for his failure to establish a need for any change in the present system. When doubt exists as to which position the negative will take, the first affirmative speaker should follow a middle course. He should present some evidence of the existence of a problem and finish his speech with an argument concerning the merits of the affirmative proposal. When this is done, the negative speaker cannot admit the entire first speech. If the negative takes the other position and argues that the present situation is satisfactory, further evidence, showing the nature and size of the problem, can be introduced in later affirmative speeches.

Should the first affirmative speaker outline the entire case at the end of his analysis of the question? We believe that, usually, this should be done. The objection is that this procedure immediately gives the whole case away to the opposition and gives them a longer time in which to prepare their refutation; the advantage is that it also "gives the whole case away" to the audience and makes it easier for them to follow the course of the argument! The audience will usually be more impressed by a strategy of fairness and frankness than by one of concealment.

IV. The Negative Case

Much of what we have said about organizing the affirmative case has some application here. Negative debaters are also interested in determining what constitutes a reasonable burden of proof, but with a different motive. They will contend that the affirmative has failed to prove certain points necessary to the establishment of their case. The negative debaters likewise will be concerned with the amount of information already possessed by the audience, and the probable attitude of audience members towards both the existing situation and the affirmative proposal.

A. Possible Negative Positions

In making special preparations for a debate, the first task of members of the negative team is to decide what general position they will take on the questions raised by the stock issues. There are four possible negative positions from which the team should choose the one best suited to the specific situation:

1. *The negative may stand for the status quo.* This may be done by presenting the merits of the present plan, or by attacking the affirmative argument that a change is necessary or desirable. The negative team that takes this stand need not greatly concern themselves with the affirmative plan. Their position is: Since we have shown there is no reason for altering the present method of doing things, why bother to consider the alleged merits of suggested remedies?

This position is more often taken by the opponents of proposed legislation than in school debates. Seldom is a question chosen for interschool contests unless there is considerable dissatisfaction with the existing situation. However, it may happen that this dissatisfaction is not shared by the audience to which a given debate is addressed. For example, one can easily imagine audiences that believe there is nothing wrong with the present workings of the National Labor Relations Board, or the plan for compulsory military training. In such instances, the negative may stand on the record and argue that complaints would be just as great, or greater, under any other plan.

2. *The negative may admit weaknesses but argue that they are not inherent in the existing system, and can be remedied without changing the system itself.* Thus, opponents of government ownership of public utilities stand for the method of government regulation and argue that when weaknesses develop they may be remedied by amending the regulatory legislation, or by changing the personnel of regulatory bodies. A great many reforms are brought about by advocates of the existing order to offset demands for more radical changes. In this way, minority groups may, over a period of time, greatly modify legislation without ever having sufficient votes to pass a bill of their own.

This stand is often taken by negative teams in school debates. It has the advantage of a seeming fairness and a willingness to concede that there is some cause for dissatisfaction. The team taking this position cannot be attacked as "stand-patters" or "die-hard conservatives." They are willing to progress, but within the existing order.

3. *The negative may admit the existence of a serious problem, but argue that the affirmative is advocating the wrong solution.* This position is often taken by the opposition in legislative and

political debates. Arguments between legislators who advocate different types of international organizations and agreements often reveal just as basic differences as exist between internationalists and those who believe we should avoid all entangling alliances. Both major parties agree that something must be done for the farmer; but each party has its own farm program and each fears that the worst would happen should the opposition plan be adopted.

This stand is commonly taken by the negative team in school debates when the existence of a problem or emergency is generally recognized. The argument then becomes either that the affirmative plan would not better the admittedly bad situation, and should therefore be defeated; or that the affirmative proposal is inferior to an alternative proposed by the negative. While the negative may logically argue for the defeat of the motion on the ground that the affirmative proposal would not improve the situation, they are open to the charge of being purely destructive in their attitude. An affirmative speaker is likely to say, "We've done our best to find the way out of a bad situation and all you do is criticize. If you don't like our plan, what have you to offer?" The negative may decide to advocate a counterplan, both to avoid this criticism and to give the audience the chance to judge the relative merits of the two solutions. The debate then becomes, in effect, a contest between two affirmative teams in which each presents the merits of its own proposal and points out weaknesses in that of the opposition.

4. *The negative may decide upon a stand that is really a combination of the second and third alternatives.* Their position would be stated about as follows:

First: The present situation is not nearly as black as the affirmative have painted it;

Second: *Even if* the situation were serious, we would oppose the affirmative proposal on the ground that it would not remedy the alleged evils.

This double stand has the advantage of forcing the affirmative team to argue both issues; it also provides a second line of defense to which the negative may retreat if the affirmative convinces the audience that a serious problem exists. The team that uses this case must take care that the audience understands the "even if" connection between the two propositions.

When the negative team has decided which of these four positions it will take, the next step is to phrase the reasons for asking the defeat of the motion. Usually these may be presented as separate objections or indictments. They do not constitute a chain of reasoning in which the case is overthrown if one link is broken, but a number of different arguments any one of which, if established, may defeat the motion.

B. General Outline of Negative Speeches

Here is a general outline of the duties of the different negative speakers:

First Negative Speech

I. Introduction (These steps are not necessarily taken in this order.)
   A. Accept or reject the affirmative analysis and definitions.
   B. Refute some point made by the first affirmative speaker.
   C. State what, in your opinion, the affirmative must prove if they are to establish their case.
   D. State the position of your team on the question. Show wherein you do agree with the affirmative.
   E. Give the main propositions in your case.
II. Discussion
   A. Present the first proposition in your case and explain its importance.
      1. Support it by the best evidence available.
      2. Make a summary, including a restatement of this point.
   B. Present and support any other propositions in the same fashion.
III. Conclusion
   A. Summarize your argument.
   B. Show what progress you have made towards defeating the motion.

Second Negative Speech

I. Introduction
   A. Refute some argument made by the preceding affirmative speaker.
   B. Recall the burden of proof that you have laid upon the affirmative.
   C. Summarize the argument made by the first negative speaker.
II. Discussion
   A. State your first proposition, define it if necessary, and explain its importance.

1. Support it with the best evidence available.
2. Summarize, including a restatement of your point.

B. Present and support any other arguments in the same fashion.

III. Conclusion

A. Summarize your own arguments and those of the first negative speaker.

B. Show what progress you have made towards defeating the motion.

If there are three speakers, the third speech will follow the same general pattern as the second. The conclusion should contain as effective a summary of the whole argument as the speaker can devise, ending with an appeal that the audience vote "No" on the resolution. Even when there is no formal vote by the audience, the debaters should remember that they are attempting to influence all the listeners, not just the official judge or judges.

In the section on the affirmative case, we advised the first speaker to outline the entire argument at the end of his introductory analysis of the question. The same advice applies here, and for the same reason.

Some may feel that we have made the process of building the case too complex and difficult. However we believe that, until the debater has thought his way through the question in some such fashion as this, he is in no position to face an audience of intelligent and thoughtful listeners, or to defend his arguments against the attacks of well-prepared opponents. Others may object that a case, built according to these directions, is likely to result in formalized speeches that lack ease of style and freedom of expression. Our first answer is that it is better to have an outline that is too evident than to have a series of speeches that lack plan and sense of direction. More debate speeches suffer from lack of outline and method than from too much attention to the framework on which they are built. The listener who is hearing about a question for the first time welcomes the assistance of topic sentences, transitions, and summaries that seem overly obvious to the debater to whom the evidence and the argument are familiar. The next answer is that, as the debater acquires skill in constructing his speeches, he learns to vary his transition devices and his methods of restating arguments. His speeches are clear but the devices making them clear are not so obvious. This is the goal toward which all debaters

strive. The old proverb is irritating, but true: There is no excellence without great labor. The student learns to build strong cases by practice in building them and by observing the work of skilled debaters.

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EXERCISES

1. Read one of the references listed above and compare the information with that contained in this chapter.

2. Comment on the cases presented by both teams in an intercollegiate debate reported in the *University Debaters' Annual* or *Intercollegiate Debates*.

3. Attend an intercollegiate debate and analyze the cases presented by the two teams. Did the debaters follow the general rules given in this chapter?

4. Give an example of each of the three types of propositions of policy.

5. Prepare a statement of the case your team proposes to support in your class debate. Show how you attempted to follow the special suggestions for building the case.

6. Outline Lincoln's argument in his speech at Cooper Institute.

7. Read one of the Lincoln-Douglas debates and outline the cases presented by the two speakers.

8. Read the closing argument by opposing counsel in some important trial. Outline the cases on each side. Did the speakers follow the suggestions given for building debate cases?

CHAPTER XXV

The Debate Speech

The judge was giving his decision at the end of an intercollegiate debate. "The second speaker on the affirmative," he said, "obviously knows less about the question than the others. I found it hard to get much out of his speech. Because he failed to establish his section of the case, I give my decision to the negative." The judge was probably right about the decision, but certainly wrong in his judgment of the second speaker. This debater actually knew a great deal about the proposition. He had supplied his colleagues with much of the evidence they had used in their speeches. That night he learned that mastery of subject matter is not enough. He failed, not because he knew too little, but because he did not know how to build a speech, and because he was not skilled in speaking to audiences.

Let it not be thought that we are promising a complete treatment of effective speaking in this one chapter. Our purpose is to focus attention only on those special problems that confront the debater.

I. Qualities of the Good Debate Speech

One of the first lessons the speaker learns is that every speech should aim at a definite reaction from the listeners. The debater's purpose is clearly indicated; he wants the audience to accept his arguments and, eventually, to vote for his side of the question. Complete acceptance of the argument by all members of the audience rarely, if ever, occurs. The debater is often attacking ideas that have been held true for a long time. It may take years and thousands of good

speeches to convince a majority of the voters that a reform should be adopted. But one good speech on an issue that does not affect the personal interests of the listeners, may influence the beliefs of 30 or 40 per cent of the audience. A debate speech is measured by its degree of success in winning favorable consideration from those without strong convictions on the subject, and in weakening the beliefs of those opposed to the speaker's argument.

But what kind of speech will have this success? This is one of those questions to which only a general answer can be given. Our answer is that a debate speech is likely to succeed when it has the following qualities.

A. A Definite Plan

The speech should follow a definite outline or plan. Clearly implied in the last chapter, this is so important that we restate it here. The speech must be planned with the time limits in mind. The speaker should determine his average rate of speaking and estimate the number of words that he can speak meaningfully in the allotted number of minutes. (The average ten-minute speech contains from 1,400 to 1,600 words.) The first step in planning the speech should be to select the strongest evidence or reasons in support of the main contentions. This means discarding much that the speaker might like to say. The next step is to phrase these supporting arguments in topic sentences and to arrange them in what seems to be the most effective order. When this has been done, the speaker must decide how much time he will devote to each section of his speech. A time outline might look something like this:

I. Introduction and refutation of preceding speaker	1½ min.	225 words
II. Restatement of case and introduction of main argument	1 min.	150 words
III. Development of first supporting argument	3 min.	450 words
IV. Development of second supporting argument	1½ min.	225 words
V. Development of third supporting argument	2 min.	300 words
VI. Summary and conclusion	1 min.	150 words
		1500 words

Unless the speaker is confronting a hostile audience, the outline should be clearly stated before he begins to present his proof so

the listeners may more easily follow the course of his argument. Transitions should be clearly indicated. These transitions should be coupled with brief summaries of the argument just completed. Speakers who are inclined to neglect this phase of preparation should study the work of great debaters.

Lincoln's address at Cooper Institute, February 27, 1860, is rightly regarded as a masterpiece. Note the precision with which the outline of the argument is indicated in the introduction.

"

Mr. President and Fellow Citizens of New York: The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation. In his speech last autumn at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in the New York *Times*, Senator Douglas said:

"Our fathers, when they framed the government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

I fully endorse this and adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?

What is the frame of government under which we live? The answer must be, "The Constitution of the United States." That Constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787, and under which the present government first went into operation, and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

Who were the fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the thirty-nine who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present government. It is almost exactly true to say that they framed it, and it is altogether true to say they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time. The names, being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated.

I take these thirty-nine, for the present, as being "our fathers who framed the government under which we live." What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood "just as well, and even better than we do now?"

It is this: Does the proper division of local from Federal authority,

or anything in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government to control as to slavery in our Federal Territories?

Upon this, Senator Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. This affirmation and denial form an issue; and this issue —this question is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood better than we. Let us now inquire whether the thirty-nine, or any of them, ever acted on this question. . . .

The inexperienced debater is often afraid of making his outline too obvious. Consequently, he plunges into his speech without a clear statement of the point he seeks to establish and its bearing on the main proposition; he moves from one argument to another without specific summary and transition sentences and stops without an adequate conclusion. After listening to a number of intercollegiate debates a colleague wrote, "I could wish that in preparation for these debates more emphasis were placed on the necessity for internal summaries and transitions, as well as on forecasts of what is to come. From the standpoint of the audience, a moderately strong argument clearly organized and easy to understand is more persuasive than a better argument poorly organized and hard to follow."

B. Clear Language

Did you ever try to explain football to someone who knew nothing at all about the game? You probably found that terms like "punt," "double-wing-back formation," and "off-tackle smash" had to be diagramed, explained, or translated. You discovered that words which were perfectly clear to you might mean something quite different, or nothing at all, to someone else. Experiences such as this bring us face to face with the difficulties of communication. Words do not necessarily mean what we intend them to mean; they acquire meaning for the listener only insofar as they are connected with his experiences.

The more deeply a debater studies a question, the more likely he is to talk about it in terms that have fairly precise meanings for students of the subject, but only vague meanings for others. He reads articles that are written by specialists for other specialists and learns to use, if not fully to understand, their vocabulary and their generalizations. The way out of this difficulty is cer-

tainly not for the debater to refrain from studying the subject. When he has mastered it, his task is to translate the arguments out of the technical language in which they have been expressed, into words that will be understood by the average listener. It is usually safe for him to assume that he will be talking to people who know almost as much, or as little, about the question as he did when he began his preparations for the debate.

C. Appeal to the Desires and Interests of the Audience

We find it difficult to be interested in subjects that do not seem to touch us personally. We do not concern ourselves with the foreign policies of our government unless we fear that they may involve us in war. "Wages and hours" may be just a section in a textbook until we get a job; "unemployment insurance," just a phrase until we lose it. So nearly universal is this tendency to be interested only in those things that touch our wants, affections, and desires, that Overstreet says: "No appeal to a reason that is not also an appeal to a want is ever effective." [1]

Many accept as a truism the statement that statistics are bound to be uninteresting. A student was overheard to remark, "This course is going to be plenty dull. It has lots of statistics in it." He had looked at tables showing population trends, indices of employment, carloadings, and bank clearings, and saw no interest in them. But that evening he listened with close attention to a statistical summary of the day's football games; he had even worked out a complicated formula for predicting the winners. Statistics are neither inherently interesting, nor inevitably dull; interestingness is a measure of the listener's reaction to them.

If the listener is to be interested, he must see how the subject touches his wants, beliefs, and desires. This does not mean that the appeal is always to selfish ends. Most individuals can be moved to make great material sacrifices when they are convinced that ideals or principles are at stake.

D. Appeal to Authority

If the speech is to be convincing, the listeners must feel that the speaker knows what he is talking about. The speaker who is al-

1. H. A. Overstreet, *Influencing Human Behavior* (New York, 1925), p. 48.

ready accepted as an authority on the question has a decided advantage. His listeners are inclined to accept his conclusions, without raising many questions about the sources of his proofs, and, perhaps, without bothering to understand his evidence. The advantage of being regarded as an authority is so generally admitted that chairmen often introduce a speaker with the somewhat vague statement that "Mr. X is a recognized authority in his field."

Few debaters can lay any claim to positions of real authority. They rarely have made first-hand investigations of the subject; they have only assembled and synthesized the investigations of others. How, then, can the debater make a speech that will bear the stamp of authority? He can do these three things:

1. He can analyze the question and state his position with clarity and precision. If he does this and avoids vague statements in the remainder of his speech, his listeners will decide that he knows what he is talking about. The introduction to Lincoln's speech at Cooper Institute should be reread with this in mind. When Lincoln gave this speech he was not accepted as an authority on questions of government. The audience came because they were curious about this "uneducated" man from the prairies of Illinois who had so effectively opposed the distinguished Senator Douglas in debate.

2. The speaker can state the evidence that supports his analysis with precision and with sufficient detail to indicate that he really understands its meaning and importance. This does not mean that page numbers and publication dates must always be given; nor does it mean that the speaker should always tell all he knows about a piece of evidence. Too much detail impedes the progress of the speech. The problem is to present those significant bits of information that clarify the evidence and that could only be given by someone who has made a thorough study of the situation. Note how Lincoln used these significant details in the first paragraph following his statement of the issue in the Cooper Institute Speech:

> In 1784, three years before the Constitution, the United States then owning the Northwestern Territory and no other, the Congress of the Confederation had before them this question of prohibiting slavery in the territory, and four of the thirty-nine who afterwards framed the Constitution were in that Congress, and voted on the question. Of these, Roger Sherman, Thomas Mifflin, and Hugh Williamson voted

for the prohibition, this showing that in their understanding, no line dividing local from Federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in Federal territory. The other of the four, James McHenry, voted against the prohibition, showing that for some reason he thought it improper to vote for it.

3. The debater should give enough information about the individuals whose opinions he cites to make it clear that he knows who these authorities are, and so his listeners will be able to estimate the importance of their opinions. The phrase "enough information" must be interpreted in the light of what the audience already knows about the individual. It would not be necessary to inform an audience that Charles Evans Hughes was Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, but if his opinion is to be quoted on the regulation of life-insurance companies, it would be well to recount the part that he played in the New York investigation of life-insurance companies preceding his election to the governorship of that state. Such vague references as "that great scholar," "distinguished economist," or "recognized authority" usually give the impression that the speaker does not have much definite information concerning the individual whose opinion he is about to quote. Here, again, it is not the number of details, but their relation to the question under discussion that is significant. Note how this student debater qualifies Joseph B. Eastman as an authority on public ownership, in a debate on the government ownership of railroads:

> Mr. Eastman's position as Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation was not a political appointment. He has had unusual training and experience in the field of utility regulation. From 1906 to 1913, he was Secretary of the Public Franchise League of Boston. In the next two years he was counsel for various street-railway companies in wage-arbitration cases. Then for four years he was a member of the Massachusetts Public Service Commission. Since 1919 he has been a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is from this background of knowledge and experiences that he says . . .

E. Adaptation to the Average Listener

Here we sound a note of warning. The speech may possess the first four qualities and yet fail because the speaker sets too rapid

a pace for his audience. Ten or twelve mintues of solid facts, opinions, and arguments, delivered at machine-gun rate, are more likely to confuse and tire listeners than to convince them. If the debate is intended for a general audience, the amount of information should be adjusted to what the average listener can be expected to comprehend. If it is intended for an audience of experts on the question, the general public should not be invited. Few citizens attend even the most important debates before the Supreme Court. They know that they would not be able to follow the course of the argument.

The student should study the differences between arguments before juries and those addressed to judges; between political debates at public meetings and arguments on the same issues given before select audiences. True, the difference is partly one of choice of language, but the process of making an argument clear to listeners who know little about the question takes more time than is needed for an audience of experts. This means that fewer arguments, or less evidence, will be presented to the popular audience in the same length of time.

II. Preparing for Delivery

We assume that the debater now has before him both a statement of his team's case and a general outline of his own speech. He has more evidence to support his arguments than he can use. Undoubtedly he has talked about the question with members of his own team; he may have engaged in a number of preliminary debates with members of his own squad. He is now ready to put his speech into final form for the public appearance. How should he proceed? He should study the methods used by successful speakers and adopt the one that he can use most effectively.

The late Senator Albert J. Beveridge is included in the list of twenty-eight foremost American orators, chosen by a committee of the National Association of Teachers of Speech. Here is his advice on speech preparation:

> The speaker must master his subject. That means that all facts must be collected, arranged, studied, digested—not only data on one side but material on the other side and on every side—all of it. . . . This means painstaking research, to be sure, but what of it?—are you not

proposing to inform, instruct and advise your fellow citizens? Are you not setting yourself up as a teacher and counselor of the public?

Having assembled and marshaled the facts of any problem, think out for yourself the solution those facts compel. Thus your speech will have originality and personal force—it will be vital and compelling. There will be *you* in it. Then write out your ideas as clearly and logically as you can. . . . The speech must now be rewritten—and then done over again, the oftener the better. The purpose of rewriting is to remove obscurities and ambiguities. . . .

The final item of preparation is the submission of the finished manuscript to several friends for criticism and suggestion. . . . Preparation thus finished, put aside your manuscript and make your speech. Do not try to commit it to memory, unless it is to be delivered on a very important occasion and it is vital that the speech shall be reported accurately.[2]

Woodrow Wilson followed a different method. Brigance says, "For a speaker whose style was so clear and incisive, and whose periods were so polished as Woodrow Wilson's, it may come as a surprise to many to learn that he did not write his speeches in full. Mrs. Wilson, however, is authority for the statement that he wrote only his messages to Congress or other public papers that had to be printed in advance of delivery. . . . In preparing a speech, Mr. Wilson habitually wrote out in shorthand a brief outline of the subjects he wished to cover. This he would later revise and transcribe with his typewriter on a small square sheet of paper." [3] He carried this outline in his vest pocket but seldom referred to it.

Norman Thomas, who was an intercollegiate debater at Princeton, must be ranked among our great speakers. He writes:

Except for radio speeches and a few exceedingly formal addresses, I do not write out and read my speeches. . . . Long ago I came to the conclusion that for me, at least, to read speeches raised a certain barrier between me and the audience. To try to remember carefully written speeches also raised a barrier. I found myself turning myself inward toward my own memory instead of outward to the audience. Therefore I adopted the method of making rather careful outlines instead of writing out whole speeches. . . . The result of this, and of the col-

2. Albert J. Beveridge, *The Art of Public Speaking* (New York, 1924), p. 26, *et seq.* By permission of Houghton Mifflin Company, publishers.

3. W. Norwood Brigance, "In the Workshop of Great Speakers," *American Speech*, August, 1923, p. 592.

loquialisms, the "wisecracks," and, so to speak, the change of pace and style which I frequently use, is, when stenographically reported, a document which I sometimes shudder to read. . . . Indeed, I am prepared to argue that many a good speech, resting as it does upon some give-and-take between speaker and audience, is bad reading, and that often one is justified in making speeches that are bad reading in preference to speeches which would be better reading. . . .

The methods I use I do not recommend to young speakers as necessarily the best. They are best for me. One's own temperament, the nature of one's memory, the kind and degree of inspiration one draws from the audience—all these legitimately affect the style one uses and the methods one employs.[4]

The methods used by outstanding ministers in preparing their sermons are also of interest. The Reverend Bernard C. Clausen refers to his debating experiences at Colgate in describing his procedure in preparing a sermon for delivery:

I arrange a typical debater's outline for each sermon, charting the course of the general argument in graphic form, under heads and subheads, writing in the outlines of evidence and illustrations under these heads and subheads, and using the opposite side of the sermon outline paper for quotations, statistics, and poetic references—all written out in longhand. . . .

I never refer to these sermon outlines when preaching but do my best to achieve a photographic memory of them before the service begins.[5]

The Reverend Bernard Iddings Bell, Warden of St. Stephens College, says:

I . . . write the sermon out, sentence by sentence, word by word, exactly as I propose to deliver it. I have little patience with extempore preaching. Most men are too slow and halting of speech to preach well from notes or from memory; and almost all the others are too fluent to be allowed to do it at all. . . . It takes me usually not less than ten hours of concentrated labor to produce each sermon—ten hours or more actually at my desk and not counting the time spent in

4. Norman Thomas, letter quoted in *Representative American Speeches: 1939–40*, A. Craig Baird, ed. (New York, 1940), pp. 276–277. By permission of The H. W. Wilson Company, publishers.

5. Edgar DeWitt Jones, *American Preachers of Today* (Indianapolis, Ind., 1933), p. 137. Copyright 1933, used by special permission of the publishers, The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

reading and preparatory thought . . . I write sermons and I read them. I have done so for twenty years.[6]

Which method should the debater use? Each has its advantages and its disadvantages. If he speaks extemporaneously, from a memorized outline, he can adapt what he says to the preceding speech, but he may get involved in his sentences and say things he did not intend to say. He may take longer than is necessary in developing a point and minutes are important in debate. If he writes and reads his speech, he has the advantage of a manuscript that represents his best effort, but he will find it hard to make a smooth transition from his rebuttal to his prepared address, and few debaters can read a manuscript effectively. For many student debaters, the best method is to write the speech, then to discard the manuscript and speak from a memorized outline. Usually the words that come will be the words that have been written, but the speaker is free to choose others and to change what he says to fit the need of the moment. Others can achieve a concise, direct style without writing. It is not the method, but the result that is important.

III. The Style of the Debate Speech

We are here concerned with the speaker's choice of words and the manner in which he arranges them, first into sentences, and then into larger units of argument. The primary test of style is the effect of the speech, when delivered to the audience for whom it was intended, not the effect it may have on a reader whose only source of impression is the printed page. This means that the debater can use sentences that may be grammatically incomplete but the meaning of which is made clear by vocal inflections or other devices of delivery. He is free to use colloquial expressions that might seem undignified in print. He should use personal pronouns as freely as he would in conversation and form sentences that suit his individual rate and manner of utterance.

A. Basic Facts about Listening

The reader can reread a difficult passage until its meaning is clear or he gives up in disgust; the listener can rarely interrupt a speaker

6. Joseph Fort Newton, *If I Had Only One Sermon to Preach* (New York, 1932), p. 144. By permission of Harper & Brothers, publishers.

to ask him to explain or repeat what he has just said. This makes it important that we understand the basic facts about the listening process and consider the effect that knowledge of these facts should have on speech style.

1. *Listeners cannot give continuous attention.* Even when the listener is making every effort to concentrate, he does not actually hear everything. Attention is not a continuous process; rather, it comes in spurts. Pillsbury estimates that the length of a unit of attention is from five to eight seconds; other psychologists believe that it is even less. Of course, it varies with individuals, and, for any individual, the length of the attention unit depends on the degree of fatigue. In what we call sustained attention, the rest periods are short and the listener is usually not aware of their existence.

What effect should this knowledge of attention fluctuations have on speech style? Obviously, it has a bearing on the length and complexity of the spoken sentence. If a speech is being delivered at the rate of one hundred and fifty words a minute, the average listener may hear no more than twelve or fifteen words in one effort of attention. This is the reason for the advice that the speaker use more short sentences than long ones; more simple sentences than complex or compound; more loose sentences than periodic. However, this advice should not be taken too literally. A speech composed of nothing but short, simple sentences would become monotonous; but there is considerable evidence to support the rule that spoken sentences should seldom be long and rarely highly complicated.

Note the variety of sentence length in the following paragraph taken from William Jennings Bryan's famous "Cross of Gold" speech at the Democratic National Convention in 1896:

They tell us that this platform was made to catch votes. We tell them that changing conditions make new issues; that the principles on which the Democratic party are based are as everlasting as the hills, but that they must be applied to new conditions as they arise. Conditions have arisen, and we are here to meet those conditions. They tell us that the income tax ought not to be brought in here; that it is a new idea. They criticize us for our criticism in the Supreme Court of the United States. My friends, we have not criticized; we have simply called attention to what you already know. If you want criticisms, read the dis-

senting opinions of the court. There you will find criticisms. They say that we passed an unconstitutional law; we deny it. The income tax was not unconstitutional when it was passed; it was not unconstitutional when it went before the Supreme Court for the first time; it did not become unconstitutional until one of the judges changed his mind, and we cannot be expected to know when a judge will change his mind. The income tax is just. It simply intends to put the burden of government justly upon the backs of the people. I am in favor of an income tax. When I find a man who is not willing to bear his share of the burdens of the government which protects him, I find a man who is unworthy to enjoy the blessings of a government like ours.

These attention fluctuations also mean that the speaker must make more use of repetition than may be desirable in writing. If he says something once, a number of his hearers will be resting between periods of attention and will not hear him at all. If the idea is unimportant, this may not greatly matter; but important facts and ideas must be repeated a number of times if every member of the audience is to hear them. Jersild studied the effect of repetition in causing ideas to be remembered by students who listened to a speech that he had constructed for the experiment. With a score of 100 representing the recall value of a statement made once in the body of the speech, the following comparative scores were obtained by varying the number of repetitions: [7]

	Score
5 repetitions, distributed at different points through the speech	315
4 distributed repetitions	246
3 distributed repetitions	197
2 distributed repetitions	167
2 successive repetitions	139

The speaker should use three types of repetition: (1) reiteration of key words and phrases; (2) restatement of important sentences in the same words; and, (3) repetition of the same idea in different words. The first type was used by President Roosevelt in this paragraph quoted from a speech delivered at Charlottesville, Virginia, in the summer of 1940:

Perception of danger to our institutions may come slowly or it may come with a rush and a shock, as it has to the people of the United

7. A. T. Jersild, "Modes of Emphasis in Public Speaking," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Dec., 1928, pp. 611–620.

States in the last few months. This *perception of danger—danger* in a *world-wide arena*—has come to us clearly and overwhelmingly. We perceive the peril in this *world-wide arena*—an *arena* which may become so narrow that only the Americans will retain the ancient faiths. (Italics ours.)

Repetition of the second sort is often used in stating the main ideas at the beginning of the speech, restating each point when it is taken up for discussion, and repeating all of them in the summary. The third type of repetition is illustrated in the paragraph from Webster's speech in his debate with Hayne. Webster began by asking that the clerk read the resolution which was before the Senate. Then he said:

We have thus heard, sir, what the resolution is which is actually before us for consideration; and it will readily occur to everyone that it is almost the only subject about which something has not been said in the speech, running through two days, by which the Senate has been entertained by the gentleman from South Carolina. Every topic in the wide range of our public affairs, whether past or present—everything general or local, whether belonging to national politics or party politics—seems to have attracted more or less of the honorable member's attention, save only the resolution before the Senate. He has spoken of everything but the public lands; they have escaped his notice. To that subject, in all his excursions, he has not paid even the cold respect of a passing glance.

Repetition can be overdone. The speaker should use this device only with the key ideas and his most important pieces of evidence; otherwise, his listeners will get the impression that "he is simply saying the same thing over and over." But the skilled speaker, by varying the type of repetition, can say the same thing a good many times without the audience being aware of it. When rightly used, repetition serves to emphasize the material as well as to make sure that all members of the audience hear it.

2. *To hold attention, the style of the speech must be varied.* Eisenson says, "Change or variety is probably the most fundamental and important attention value. To maintain attention we must have diversification of stimuli." [8] We have already urged variety of sentence length and have noted the value of reiterating the same idea in different words. The speaker can also provide variety by

8. Jon Eisenson, *The Psychology of Speech* (New York, 1938), p. 214.

frequent changes from abstract to concrete material, by using narrative illustrations and, by employing verbs of action in the active voice, to indicate the progress of his argument. The speech has this quality of variety when the style changes to suit the different types of material, when the same rhythm pattern is not used throughout, when the old idea is expressed in a slightly different way. Variety is the difference between a speech that keeps the listeners alert and one that puts their minds, if not their bodies, to sleep.

3. *We attach meanings to concrete and specific symbols more easily than to general and abstract ones.* Words are symbols which we must interpret in terms of our experiences. These experiences are not general and abstract, but exist as memories of things we have seen, sounds we have heard, pain or pleasure we have felt, i. e., they represent specific stimuli to one or more of our physical senses. Abstract words apply to whole classes of objects, groups of ideas, or series of events. Concrete words remind us directly of our experiences; abstract terms depend for their meaning on our ability to translate them into more definite terms. This process of translation takes time that the listener does not have and energy that he usually does not care to expend. The sentence, "Germany needs butter and lard," is easier to interpret than, "Germany is experiencing a shortage of edible fats and oils."

Abstract words offer another difficulty; they are subject to a wide variety of interpretations by listeners of varying backgrounds and experiences. On this point Hollingworth says, "Men are more alike in their ability to hear sounds and merely to see words than in their capacity to treat such sounds and shapes as symbols. The more subtle the sign and the more abstract the meaning, the greater will be the diversities in understanding among the members of an audience." [9]

There is a good psychological basis for the advice of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch: "Almost always prefer the concrete word to the abstract." Note how Henry Grady, speaking before the Bay State Club in Boston, in 1889, used concrete words in developing the idea that, until recently, the South had failed to take advantage of her natural resources:

9. H. L. Hollingworth, *The Psychology of the Audience* (New York, 1935), pp. 76–77.

I attended a funeral once in Pickens county in my state. . . . It was a poor "one gallus" fellow whose breeches struck him under the armpits and hit him at the other end about the knee. They buried him in the midst of a marble quarry—they cut through solid marble to make his grave—and yet a little tombstone they put above him was from Vermont. They buried him in the heart of a pine forest, and yet the pine coffin was imported from Cincinnati. They buried him within touch of an iron mine and yet the nails in his coffin, and the iron in the shovel that dug his grave, were imported from Pittsburgh. They buried him by the side of the best sheep-grazing country on the earth, and yet the wool in the coffin bands, and the coffin bands themselves, were brought from the North. The South didn't furnish a thing for that funeral but the corpse and the hole in the ground.

"Logicians may reason about abstractions," said Macaulay, "but the great mass of men must have images." Lincoln called Harriet Beecher Stowe "the little woman who started a big war"; readers who paid slight heed to the more abstract discussions of slavery were moved by the story of Uncle Tom. It was the picture of the lawless saloon that hastened the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment; the picture of the equally lawless bootlegger that hastened its repeal. The debater who makes a speech consisting largely of abstract statements, supported by equally abstract statistics, should not be surprised if the listeners are bored and unmoved.

B. Effective Rhetorical Devices

In addition to a knowledge of the general characteristics of good speech style, the debater should also be acquainted with specific rhetorical devices which make speeches more direct and interesting. An examination of the speeches of successful debaters shows that they make frequent use of the following rhetorical devices.

1. *Questions.* The idea that a speech is really one side of a conversation, with the listener making silent responses, is heightened by the frequent use of questions. Three types of questions are found in debate speeches: (a) questions to be answered by the opposing speaker; (b) questions that serve as topic sentences, raising a point for the consideration of the audience; and (c) rhetorical questions that suggest one answer and are really persuasive in purpose.

2. *Illustrations.* An illustration explains an idea by showing how

the speaker believes it would work in a typical, but imaginary, situation. Thus a debater might show how hospital insurance would work for an average family.

3. *Examples.* The example differs from the illustration in that it is an actual rather than an imaginary instance. The use of examples is an effective way of making abstract statements and statistics clear to the listener.

4. *Figurative language.* Sometimes the speaker does not have time to give illustrations or examples; he can still add vividness to his speech by the use of similes and metaphors, words or phrases that suggest comparisons with familiar ideas or objects.

5. *Loaded words.* In the chapter on persuasion we learned that many words have strong affirmative or negative connotations. We favor *justice, liberty, freedom of speech, equal opportunity;* we are opposed to *injustice, tyranny, oppression,* and *traitors.* Loaded words are used to link the speaker's cause with ideas which the listeners approve; the opponent's position with ideas members of the audience dislike.

6. *Humor.* Touches of humor, unexpected comparisons and turns of phrase, are good when they do not distract attention from the central idea. Relevant humor is an excellent method of providing a moment of relaxation, but the story that is dragged in only for the sake of getting a laugh usually defeats its own purpose. The debater should remember that he is trying to convince his listeners, not to entertain them.

In making use of these devices, the debater should remember that variety is, perhaps, the outstanding characteristic of effective speech style. Humor should not be attempted in connection with every point or argument; questions are good but more questions are not, therefore, better. As soon as the listener can predict the pattern of the rest of the speech, he begins to lose interest. The overuse of any of these devices may result in a lack of variety and a consequent loss of attention.

To give separate illustrations of each of these devices would require more space than is available. Moreover, this would tend to ignore the fact that more than one device may appear in the same sentence; that a paragraph may include most of them. Which of the devices are used in the following examples?

The first example is from Ingersoll's speech to the jury in the

Davis Will case. Ingersoll is arguing that Job Davis did not write the will in question.

Now, the next question is, was Job Davis a good speller? Let us be honest about it. How delighted they would have been to show that he was an ignorant booby. But their witnesses and our witnesses both swear that he was the best speller in the neighborhood; and when they brought men from other communities to a spelling match, after all had fallen on the field, after the floor was covered with dead and wounded, Job Davis stood proudly up, not having missed a word. He was the best speller in the county, and not only so, but at sixteen years of age he wasn't simply studying arithmetic, he was in algebra; and not only so, after he had finished this common school education in Salt Creek Township, he went to the Normal School of Iowa and prepared himself to be a teacher, and came back and taught school.

Did Job Davis write this will? Senator Saunders [of the opposing counsel] says there are three or four misspelled words in this document, while the fact is there are twenty words in this document that are clearly and absolutely misspelled. And what kind of words are misspelled? Some of the easiest and most common words in the English language. Will you say upon your oaths that Job Davis, having the reputation of the champion speller of the neighborhood . . . spelled shall "shal" every time it occurs in this will? Will you say that this champion speller spelled the word whether with two "r"s and made it "wherther" . . . ? Will you say that this champion speller could not spell the word dispose, but wrote it "depose"? And will you say that the ordinary word give was spelled by this educated young man "guive"? . . .

The second example is from a radio address by Carter Glass, Democratic Senator from Virginia, in opposition to the so-called "Court-Packing Bill" introduced by the administration early in 1937:

I have said that this proposal to pack the Supreme Court is without precedent in American jurisprudence and that we must go back for a corresponding scheme to the infamous processes of the British Star Chamber. Macaulay gives us the incident. When the King wanted a servile court to sanction his purposes contrary to the decisions rendered, he summoned the Chief Justice to the palace and told him peremptorily that he would be dismissed unless he changed his opinions. "Sire," said the courageous Chief Justice, "my position is of little concern to me since I have not many years to live; but my convictions

are of vital importance, and I am humiliated to find that Your Majesty thinks me capable of altering my mind merely to retain my place." The Chief Justice was dismissed, just as the offending members of the Supreme Court have been rudely told to "begone" if they do not relish the proposed mortification of being supplied with six judicial wet-nurses; and well might any one or all of those eminent jurists, in imitation of that fearless Englishman, say to the appointing power: "You may find six judges of your mind, but not six constitutional lawyers. . . .

The third example is taken from President Franklin D. Roosevelt's campaign speech at Worcester, Mass., October 21, 1936. His thesis was: "In 1776 the fight was for democracy in taxation; in 1936, that is still the fight."

In 1933, when we came into office, fifty-eight cents out of every dollar of Federal revenue came from hidden taxes. Leaving out of account the liquor tax—for liquor was illegal in 1933—we have reduced these indirect taxes to thirty-eight cents out of every dollar.

How else have we improved and Americanized the tax structure?

First, we have a credit to earned income—that is, income from personal work or service—thus substantially reducing taxes paid by the working citizen. Wasn't that the American thing to do?

Second, we decreased the tax rates on small corporations. Wasn't that the American thing to do?

Third, we increased the taxes paid by individuals in the higher brackets—those of incomes over $50,000 a year. Wasn't that the American thing to do?

Fourth, we increased still further the taxes paid by individuals in the highest brackets—those with incomes over one million dollars a year. Wasn't that the American thing to do?

Fifth, we increased the tax on very large estates. Wasn't that the American thing to do?

Finally, this year we had to find new revenues to meet the immediate bonus payments and to take the place of the processing taxes. This new tax, called the undistributed profits tax, is merely an extension of the individual income tax and a plugging up of the loopholes in it, loopholes which could be used only by men with very large incomes.

IV. Presenting Statistical Information

The best available evidence is often in the form of statistics. But statistics are abstract and, when used unskillfully or to excess, are

as likely to confuse as to enlighten. For this reason, members of popular audiences sometimes applaud speakers who announce that they will "dispense with dull statistics and just appeal to your reason and your good sense." Obviously, this is no real solution. Reasoning is not a substitute for evidence; it is the process of drawing inferences and conclusions from evidence. The problem is to find how to present statistical information so that it will be interesting and meaningful. The following suggestions have proved helpful in attaining those ends.

1. Preface the statistics with a statement of their importance and their bearing on the proposition. This gives the listener the chance to understand why the statistics are given.

2. Avoid the terminology that statisticians use in talking to one another. Translate the significant facts into words that the listeners use or understand. Sometimes that can be done by giving an illustration. Fluctuations in the index of consumers' commodity prices may be explained by showing the price that one would pay for the same basket of groceries at different times.

3. Very large amounts should be stated in round numbers. Unless absolute precision is required, say "nearly four million" instead of "three million, nine hundred and ninety-six thousand, eight hundred and ninety-seven." Of course, the exact figures should be available for presentation if they are needed.

4. Large amounts can often be made more meaningful by breaking them into smaller units. A national debt of $45,000,000,000 would, if evenly divided, mean a debt of about $340 for each person in the United States, or a debt of $1,700 for a family of five.

5. Whenever possible, compare your statistics with ideas or information already familiar to your listener. A student orator startled his audience into attention with this statement: "The American Bar Association report states that there are four times as many people murdered in this country each year as were killed in the battle of Gettysburg, and that in the last half century there have been more people murdered than have been killed in all the foreign wars of this nation. Furthermore, the rate is increasing by 1,000 murders a year."

6. Because, for many people, seeing is believing, charts can often be used to advantage. To be effective, charts must be large enough to be visible to those in the back of the room, and simple

enough so that the listeners can follow the speaker's explanation. Debaters wishing to use visual aids should familiarize themselves with such devices as the bar graph and the pictograph used in presenting statistical information in publications intended for the general reader.[10]

7. After the statistics are given, indicate what they prove. Do not leave the listener with the task of applying the information you have given to the proposition under consideration.

8. Saying it once isn't enough. Like other important evidence, statistics must be repeated if they are to be remembered and their full significance realized. Note how statistical information is presented and repeated for emphasis in the following paragraphs from an oration entitled "Colleges for Crooks" given by Edgar E. Willis of Wayne University in 1935:

> Last year over four hundred thousand man and women were set free from the jails and prisons of our nation. That is four times the number who graduated from all our colleges and universities.
>
> We hear a great deal about our college alumni and what we may expect of them. Did you ever list our outstanding prison alumni? There's John Dillinger, killer of seven. Indiana was his alma mater. Ohio gave us Merton Goodrich, brutal slayer of little Lillian Gallagher. From Illinois came "Baby Face" Nelson. He's a Joliet man. Our prisons have their foreign scholars, too. From Germany came Bruno Richard Hauptmann. Ladies and gentlemen, I might continue with a long list of prison graduates. Their combined influence is responsible for 60 per cent of all our crime. Small wonder that President Roosevelt said before the National Crime Conference last December: "It is amazing that such a situation . . . is possible at this stage of our civilization."
>
> The Wickersham Commission found that our prisons, instead of contributing to the solution of our crime problem, contribute 60 percent of its menace. They have become colleges for crooks, releasing each year among us those who contribute more than half our crime. Consider the four hundred thousand released from our prisons each year by pardons, paroles, or completion of their sentences. This means that each day eleven hundred convicted murderers, kidnapers, robbers, rapists, and other criminals are sent back—free—to live among us.

10. See, for example, the series of Public Affairs Pamphlets, published by the Public Affairs Committee, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, or the Headline Books, published by the Foreign Policy Association, 22 E. 38th St., New York.

And according to the investigation made by the Gluecks in Massachusetts, four out of every five of these will return to their former lives of crime.[11]

V. Delivering the Speech

The effect of a good speech may easily be spoiled by poor delivery. Our experience as radio listeners has made us voice-conscious. We see examples of good acting in the movies and learn the value of suiting the action to the word. We are annoyed by strident, high-pitched voices, faulty articulation, and vocal monotony in its various forms. It is not enough that the speaker have a message. If he wants us to listen, we ask that he be at least reasonably proficient in the art of oral communication.

The ability to speak well cannot be gained, in the privacy of one's study, in ten easy lessons. There is no magic formula that will enable the speaker suddenly to master his voice, his hands, and his fears. Skill in speaking comes from continued study and practice, just as one learns singing, acting, or playing the piano. All that can be done in this chapter is to call attention to the importance of delivery, to state a few of the basic principles, and to list some of the faults that often occur in debate speeches.

The first essential of effective delivery is that the speaker talk *with* his listeners, not *at* them. But the advice to converse with the audience does not always mean that the speaker should talk as he does in ordinary conversation. Perhaps his conversation is uninteresting, lacking in animation, commonplace; if so, he certainly should not use it as a model for his public speaking. Good speaking is good conversation—not ordinary talk—spoken loudly enough so that all may easily hear, and with the accompanying facial expressions and gestures magnified so that all may see them.

The most important characteristic of good delivery is variety in the use of voice and action. It is impossible for the listener to pay attention very long to a uniform series of stimuli. If you don't believe this try listening to the ticking of a clock or watching the facial expression of a wooden Indian. Uniformity of stimuli produces monotony; even a uniformly pleasant voice may soon pro-

11. Evan E. Anderson, ed., *The Yearbook of College Oratory*, Vol. VII, (New York, 1935), pp. 191–192. Published by Noble & Noble, Publishers, Inc., New York City. Used by special permission.

duce a mood in which the listener is aware only of a pleasing succession of sounds. The speaker may avoid vocal monotony by modulating the pitch, by changing the rate at which he speaks, by varying the degree of force or loudness, and by changes in the quality of his voice. Of course the purpose of these changes is to adapt the voice to the idea that is being uttered at the moment.

The speaker who stands as though fastened to one spot, with a fixed facial expression, and repeats a few standard gestures at uniform intervals, also achieves monotony. Monotony of voice and of action are closely related. The speaker whose muscles are continuously tense is likely to have a monotonous, high-pitched voice; the speaker who slouches, whose manner gives the impression that he is tired or bored, usually has a voice lacking in animation. The listener tends to assume the muscle tensions of the speaker. If the speaker is tense, the listener feels uncomfortable; the speaker who "suits the action to the word" is making it easy for the members of the audience to keep interested.

Perhaps the most frequent fault in the delivery of debate speeches is a belligerent, overbearing manner of speaking. Debaters who challenge the information and honesty of their opponents, who make frequent use of sarcasm and name-calling, are seldom successful at making friends or influencing people. Every debater should profit by the experience which Benjamin Franklin relates in his *Autobiography:*

> A Quaker friend informed me I was not content with being in the right when discussing my point, but had to be overbearing and insolent about it—of which he convinced me by witnessing several instances. Endeavoring to cure myself of this fault, which I now realized had lost me many an argument, I made the following rule: to forbear all direct contradictions of the sentiments of others and all over-positive assertions of my own. Therefore, when another asserted something I thought an error, I denied myself the pleasure of contradicting him abruptly, and showing immediately some absurdity in his proposition. Instead I began by observing that in certain cases or circumstances his opinion would be right, but in the present case there appeared or seemed to me some difference, etc.
>
> I soon found the advantage of the change in my manner. The conversations I engaged in went more pleasantly. The modest way in which I proposed my opinions procured them a readier reception and less contradiction. I had less mortification when I was found in the

wrong, and I more easily prevailed upon others to give up their mistakes and join me when I happened to be right. To my new tactics, I think it principally owing that I had such early weight with my fellow citizens when I proposed new institutions, or alterations in the old, and so much influence in public councils when I became a member. For I was but a bad speaker, never eloquent, subject to much hesitation and my choice of words hardly correct in language—and yet I carried my points.

The speaker who follows Franklin's advice will speak as quietly as is consistent with the size of the audience. He will avoid the loud tones that indicate anger or undue excitement and modulate the volume of his voice to accord with the importance of what he is saying. One of William Jennings Bryan's greatest assets was his ability to speak to large audiences without seeming to shout at them. His listeners felt that he was using the tones they associated with conversation between equals. The debater must be audible and animated, but he should not confuse volume of voice with weight of argument. Indeed, we commonly regard the "loud-mouthed" individual as an empty-headed fellow who attempts to make up in noise what he lacks in knowledge.

The excitement of the debate often causes speakers to "tighten up" in much the same way that athletes do in a championship game. Too much muscle tension affects the speaker's voice, raising the pitch and preventing the production of full, resonant tones. As the debater acquires confidence in his ability, these tensions are reduced and the quality of his voice is likely to improve. He can hasten this improvement by learning to control the tension in the muscles of his throat, thus regulating the pitch of his voice, and by consciously cultivating the use of full, pleasant tones.

Stimulated both by excitement and the desire to say as much as they can in the allotted time, debaters often talk too fast. The voice can utter sounds faster than the average listener can attach meanings to them. The debater who shifts into high just after he has said, "Ladies and gentlemen" and talks at top speed until he says, "I thank you," cannot hope to hold the attention of his listeners. The experienced speaker varies his rate of utterance, both to avoid monotony and to indicate the relative importance of different sentences and paragraphs. The debater can add greatly to the effectiveness of his delivery if he learns how to use pauses ef-

fectively and how to adjust his rate both to his material and to the size of his audience.

The debater should take advantage of every opportunity to improve the quality of his speaking voice. However, individuals with average voices should not conclude that they are doomed to be average speakers. Some of our country's great debaters have had ordinary voices. They succeeded, in spite of their voices, because they were great thinkers, and because they excelled in other aspects of effective speaking.

The usual practice is for members of both teams to be seated on the platform, in full view of the audience, throughout the debate. The speaker is judged by his behavior when others are talking as well as by the effectiveness of his speech. He should do nothing to attract attention to himself; but should give every evidence of listening courteously to the other speakers. If an opponent uses an argument he thinks he can refute easily, he should not show his pleasure; if the opposition presents a case that he does not know how to meet, he should not register consternation. The debaters should give the audience an experience in vigorous but courteous debate where the attention is focused on the evidence and its implications, rather than charges of unfairness and other signs of personal conflict.

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EXERCISES

1. Make a five-minute speech to the class based on one of the suggested readings. Your purpose is to supplement the information contained in this chapter and to evaluate any differences of opinion that may exist.

2. Read a debate in a recent volume of *Intercollegiate Debates* or the *University Debaters' Annual.* Write a report applying the information given in section I of this chapter to the first affirmative and first negative speeches.

3. Attend an intercollegiate debate and pay especial attention to the delivery. Choose the best speaker and analyze the reasons for his superiority. Your instructor may ask you to turn in a written report or he may have four or five members of the class present analyses in short speeches.

4. Find out as much as you can about the manner in which some great argumentative speaker or debater prepared his speeches. Present your findings in a two-minute speech.

5. Read a speech given in Congressional Debate. Compare, or contrast, the style with that used in an intercollegiate debate on the same general subject.

6. Compare a speech delivered during a political campaign with a speech given by the same person on a different occasion. Account for any differences in style or methods of speech construction.

7. Read to the class a three- or four-minute passage from a good argumentative speech. Preface the reading with a brief introduction, giving the necessary information about the speaker and the occasion; follow the reading with a statement of your reasons for choosing the passage as an example of good debate style.

8. Listen to a radio address by one of the country's successful speakers. Note the methods he uses in avoiding monotony.

9. Hand in the manuscript of a six-minute argumentative speech intended for an audience that has only a general knowledge of the problem.

CHAPTER XXVI

Refutation

Each debater usually makes two speeches: In the first, commonly called a "constructive speech" (although its purpose may be to destroy an argument advanced by an opponent or a belief held by the audience), the debater presents the evidence and the argument supporting one part of his team's case. While this speech is carefully prepared in advance, some time is properly reserved for extemporaneous adaptation to what has been said by the preceding speaker. The second or *rebuttal* speech contains no wholly new arguments. The debater shows weaknesses in his opponents' evidence and reasoning, presents evidence tending to disprove their contentions, and further defends the case advanced by his own team.

Skill in refutation often means the difference between success and failure, both in school debates and in arguments after school-days are over. The legislator who cannot answer objections to his bill in the running fire of extemporaneous debate is greatly handicapped. The lawyer cannot hope to win many cases unless he can refute the evidence produced by opposing counsel. The salesman cannot rely on his "constructive speech." He must be prepared to adapt his argument to the needs and interests of his prospective customer and to answer all manner of objections. The candidate for office must answer attacks made by his opponents and questions, relevant and irrelevant, put to him by those who attend his meetings. The citizen who is unable to deliver an effective attack on what he believes to be a dangerous proposal or to defend his own committee reports and motions against the opposition of others, cannot be a leader.

Skill in refutation comes largely, but not entirely, from practice. Practice does not necessarily make *perfect;* it may only make *permanent* those errors that come from a failure to understand the activity in which one is engaged. This chapter is devoted to an analysis of the nature and function of refutation, a consideration of the methods of refuting an opposing argument and of the common errors in refutation, and advice on the preparation of the rebuttal speech.

I. Definition

We have used the terms *refutation* and *rebuttal* almost interchangeably. There is authority for this in the definitions given by standard dictionaries. According to the new *Century Dictionary*, for example, *refute* means "to prove to be false, or erroneous, as a statement, opinion, or charge," while to *rebut* is "to repel or refute by evidence or argument . . . in general use, to refute or disprove." The "rebuttal speeches" in a debate should contain two types of material, each serving a specific purpose. First, there is usually some material, not properly classified as refutation or rebuttal, which serves to restate and amplify strong arguments that have not been effectively attacked by the opposition. Second, the "rebuttal speech" includes refutation, material which serves to refute or disprove strong arguments made by the opposition. To avoid confusion we will use the term *refutation* hereafter only in discussing the process of answering or disproving an opposing argument. This distinction between *refutation* and "rebuttal speeches" should be kept in mind in reading this chapter.

There are three ways in which the debater uses refutation: (1) to deal with hostile attitudes or beliefs that exist in the minds of hearers; (2) to anticipate arguments that will almost certainly be advanced by his opponents; (3) to answer the arguments that have been presented by opposing speakers.

Whatever the situation, the function of refutation is essentially the same. The affirmative debater is constantly trying to focus the attention of his listeners on the merits of his proposal. To do this he must convince them that their doubts, while natural enough, are exaggerated or based on misunderstandings, and that the objections raised by the opposition are not of sufficient importance

to outweigh the advantages of his proposal. The negative debater is continually attempting to magnify objections to the proposed action that already exist in the minds of his hearers, to present evidence to offset that of the affirmative, to point out weaknesses in the proposal and dangers that might follow an attempt to put it into operation.

While the first effect of a series of rebuttal speeches may seem to confuse the listener, the final result should be to provide him with the basis for an intelligent decision. He sees how the strongest affirmative arguments stand up under the strongest attacks that can be made. He learns that "there is much to be said for both sides" and will not be inclined to expect the impossible if his pet reform is adopted or to believe that all opposition to it is based on sheer ignorance or actuated by selfish motives.

At what points in the debate should refutation occur? When the purpose is to deal with existing beliefs, the process of refutation may begin with the first affirmative speech. Every speaker thereafter should devote some time to refuting arguments made by the opposition. This refutation may constitute the first section of the speech, or it may be inserted at appropriate places throughout the argument. The first method is the easiest; the second is often the more effective. When skillfully done, it gives the impression that the whole speech has grown out of the one just made by the opposing speaker. If all the refutation comes at the beginning, care must be taken to make a smooth transition to the "constructive" argument.

Refutation of a point before it is made by the opposition is usually found in the opening speech on either side. The advantage of anticipatory refutation is that, when successful, it destroys much of the effect of the opposing argument. The disadvantage is that the speaker may raise arguments that the opponents had not planned to use, thus leaving the way open for an effective rejoinder. Again, the speaker may present the opposing argument more effectively than he refutes it. Anticipatory refutation should be confined to points or arguments that will almost certainly be advanced by the other side. In introducing it, avoid such expressions as "Our opponents will undoubtedly attempt to prove . . ." or "Some misinformed persons believe . . ." The first introduction tempts your opponents to reply that they will do no such thing; the second will

arouse the indignation, not only of your opponents, but also of those listeners who believe the point you are attacking. It is more effective to begin in some such fashion as "The objection most frequently advanced by opponents of this measure is . . ." or "Perhaps the strongest argument against us is . . ." These introductions avoid name-calling and indicate that you are considering basic arguments.

II. General Methods of Refutation

The debater should be familiar with the tests of evidence and reasoning; his task in refutation is to apply them to the arguments of his opponents.

In refuting an argument, you will use one or more of the following methods:

(1) You may show that a conclusion is based on insufficient evidence, or on evidence drawn from doubtful sources.
(2) You may admit the accuracy of the evidence but argue that the opposition has drawn the wrong conclusion from it.
(3) You may show that the weight of evidence favors your side. This may or may not be coupled with an attack on the value of opposing evidence.
(4) You may argue that the opposing argument is based on an incomplete or faulty analysis of the question.
(5) You may show that the opposition has fallen into other errors in reasoning, described in the chapter on fallacies.

To give specimens of all these types of refutation would require more space than is here available. Examine such classics as the Lincoln-Douglas and Webster-Hayne debates, or great jury speeches, for examples of refutation on which to pattern your efforts.

A. Selecting Points to Be Refuted

Obviously, it is impossible for an affirmative speaker both to present his case and to answer all objections that may be raised by a skilled and versatile opponent. An attempt to do so usually results in refutation which is little more than a series of contradictory statements, i. e., "They say . . . but we deny it." But the audience does not require the impossible. As the debate progresses, the attention of

the listeners is focused on a few points; their decision depends on the manner in which these points are presented and answered.

The problem, therefore, is to select the points in which the listeners are interested. To do this, the debater should watch the audience as closely as possible. Beginners are likely to spend their time looking up material in the card files or watching their opponents instead of noting the effect of their own and their opponents' arguments on their listeners. If the audience wants to know the answer to a question or objection raised by the opposition, an answer should be given even though the points seem intrinsically unimportant. Furthermore, these answers should be made at the beginning of your speech; otherwise, the audience will not really listen to the points you are making.

In addition to watching the audience, the debater can get assistance in choosing the points to be refuted by noting the relationship of the opponents' case to that of his own team. This device is helpful. Record on the left half of a full sheet of paper, an outline of the case presented by your team. As the debate progresses, record the attacks made by opposing speakers, on the right half of the paper opposite the point attacked. This done, you can see at a glance where the two teams clash. The points where the clash occurs are the ones to be stressed in refutation. It is also important to note any points that your opponents have not contested. If a section of your case is admitted, there is no need of spending time in expanding or reinforcing it; all that is necessary is to show your listeners the significance of this admission.

B. Steps in Effective Refutation

Much refutation is ineffective because the listener sees neither the relation of the argument refuted to the proposition nor the significance of the answer. In his desire to cover as many arguments as possible, the debater is likely to omit the introductory, explanatory, and concluding sentences that make the refutation meaningful. Four steps are involved in effective refutation.

1. *State accurately and concisely the argument you propose to refute.* Whenever possible state the argument in the words used by your opponent. This requires careful listening and accurate note-taking but it relieves you from any charges of misstatement. If you are prepared to meet certain arguments, it may be easy to

convince yourself that your opponent made them. Avoid such trite and general introductory statements as, "They have said something about . . ." "They would have you believe . . ." "Our opponents have pointed out that . . ." or "They have spent a great deal of time trying to convince you . . ."

2. *State the importance of this argument and its bearing on your opponent's case.* If it is a basic contention do not be afraid to say so. Remember that you get more credit for casting doubt on the validity of a fundamental argument than for destroying an unimportant point or for knocking down a "straw man" that you have set up.

3. *Refute the argument.* It is generally not sufficient to offset one piece of statistical information with another, or to counter an opposing authority with a statement from someone who favors your side. You may be able to show that the weight of evidence is in your favor, to raise questions about the qualifications of "authorities" cited by your opponents, or to establish the greater reasonableness of your position. If the argument is of great importance, you will attempt to attack your opponent's contention from various angles, and to support your own with all available types of proof.

4. *Conclude by showing what damage you have done to your opponent's case.* This may require no more than a sentence but that sentence is important. Your listeners may be thinking about the problem for the first time; they must listen to a number of conflicting arguments within the space of a few minutes and cannot be expected to make applications and draw conclusions that seem perfectly obvious to you.

III. Special Methods of Refutation

A number of special rebuttal methods or techniques are used with sufficient frequency and success, both in the speeches of great lawyers and statesmen and by college debaters, to warrant special consideration.

A. Asking Questions

We do not here refer to rhetorical questions that are intended to be answered silently by the audience; we are thinking of direct

questions put to an opponent with the intention of exposing a weak spot in his argument or of placing him in a dilemma. A classic example of the dilemma is the question put to Douglas by Lincoln in their Freeport debate. Douglas had advocated the doctrine of popular sovereignty which, as applied to slavery, meant that the citizens should decide whether they wished slavery in their territory. This doctrine was popular in most of Illinois where Douglas was a candidate for re-election to the United States Senate. But the Supreme Court had ruled in the Dred Scott decision that neither Congress nor any territorial legislature could exclude slavery from a territory. This decision was popular in the South and Douglas would need the support of the South, if, as he hoped, he became the Democratic candidate for the presidency in 1860. At this conflict between Douglas' doctrine of popular sovereignty and the Dred Scott decision, Lincoln pointed this question and kept it before the audience in succeeding debates: "Can the people of a United States Territory, in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen of the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior to the formation of a state constitution?" Douglas answered in a way that satisfied his constituents who re-elected him, but the Southern Democrats withdrew from the Convention and nominated their own candidates rather than support him for the Presidency in 1860. Lincoln's question did much to split the Democratic party and insure his own election.

This, of course, is an unusual, rather than a typical, situation. Rarely can a question, or any other method of refutation, be used with such far-reaching results. The question is in order when you see that your opponent is avoiding an issue or is failing to give information which you believe essential to an understanding of the proposition. The practice of asking a great many questions, only a few of which are important, should be discouraged. True, these questions may confuse the opponent, but they are just as likely to confuse the audience.

Generally, not more than one or two questions should be used. They should be asked early in the debate and so phrased that the audience will see their significance and want to know the answers. Debaters often put questions in this fashion: "We would like to have our opponents answer this question in their next speech." Unless the listeners happen to think the information important,

questions asked in this manner are ineffective. Questions should not be used unless the debaters are prepared to follow them through by showing the significance of whatever answer may be made, or of the opposition's failure to answer them.

It is equally important to know how to deal with questions. On this point Lahman says, "One hard and fast rule can be laid down. Don't ignore questions your opponents ask. If they are trivial or irrelevant or ulterior in motive, tactfully point that out. If they are *bona fide*, meet them straightforwardly. . . . You can be sure that your opponents intend to capitalize on your answers if you give them the chance. Categorical 'yes' and 'no' answers are the most vulnerable." [1] Do not say, "This question will be answered by my colleague." This usually gives the impression that you do not know how to deal with it and are shifting the responsibility to your teammate. Answers to relevant questions should never be deferred until the last rebuttal speech.

B. Exposing Inconsistencies

One of the basic tests of an argument is that of internal consistency. Logically, we ask that the different parts of the proof of a proposition should rest on the same assumptions; psychologically, we are capable of accepting contradictory reasons for believing what we want to believe. For example, when the question of repealing the Eighteenth Amendment was before the country, advocates of repeal claimed that it would both eliminate bootlegging and other forms of tax evasion and that the liquor taxes would almost balance the nation's budget. Logically, these two arguments are at least partially inconsistent. High liquor taxes would not remove the incentives to tax evasion; low taxes would, but the revenue would be insignificant.

A series of debates, a political campaign for example, may contain inconsistencies of another kind. Thus, a candidate for office, in agricultural areas, may favor higher prices for farm products; in the cities, he may argue that food prices are too high. Each speech may be consistent; the inconsistency is between the speeches delivered before audiences with different interests and desires.

The debater who charges his opponent with an inconsistency

1. C. P. Lahman, *Debate Coaching* (New York, 1936), p. 173.

must do more than make the charge. He must convince the audience that the two arguments, or positions, really contradict each other. This done, he can properly ask his opponent where he stands. Too often, the alleged inconsistencies result from fitting together two statements separated from their contexts. In their eagerness to use this method of refutation, debaters sometimes seize upon inconsistencies that are verbal rather than real.

The only adequate defense against the charge of inconsistency is an argument that does not contain one. When the alleged contradictions are unimportant or the result of bringing together statements without full regard for their context, that fact should be immediately made clear to the audience.

C. Showing Trend of Opposing Argument

A method of refutation frequently used is to argue that the proposal of the opposition is one step towards an undesirable goal. Thus, Douglas continually opposed Lincoln's stand against the extension of slavery by asserting that his real objective was racial equality, including intermarriage. Opponents of the New Deal fear that each measure giving the Federal government more power is a step towards ultimate dictatorship. New Dealers oppose bills introduced by conservatives on the ground that they are part of a plan to favor big business and the reactionaries. The attempt is to shift attention from the measure itself to what might happen if other measures like it were adopted and the argument were pushed to an extreme conclusion.

This method of refutation is based on the assumption that, if we favor the application of a method of principle to one situation, we must logically favor its application to many other situations. For example, it might be argued that, because we favor municipal ownership of one utility, we must secretly favor public ownership of all utilities. Actually, we might, without any loss of logic, favor municipal ownership of the waterworks in one city and private ownership in another. The reason would lie in differences between the two situations.

It should not be assumed that showing the ultimate trend of an opposing argument is always a stratagem intended to confuse the issue. Quite the contrary. Many measures are proposed by individuals or organizations with far-reaching plans and motives that

are not easily apparent. For example, any evidence that the specific bill, or motion, is really one step in a series of actions that would lead us into war, or in the direction of Communism, or Fascism, is pertinent and should be fully considered.

The answer to the charge that a measure is a step towards an undesirable goal, of course, would depend on the situation. Usually, the best course is to insist that the question be debated on its own merits. One might favor one step but oppose going all the way: Lincoln was not bound to favor intermarriage between negroes and whites because he opposed slavery! A discriminating electorate can be trusted to decide how far, and in what instances, they wish to apply a given principle.

D. Adopting Opposing Arguments

Occasionally a debater may find it possible to take over an argument, or a section of his opponent's case, and show that it supports his own position. In one debate on government ownership of the railroads, the affirmative presented data showing the number of roads in serious financial difficulty, as evidence of need for government ownership. The negative accepted the evidence but argued that it showed the railroads would be a bad financial risk, that the government should certainly not take over every business that gets into financial difficulty. Another affirmative debater on the same question presented the success of the government in regulating the railroads as proof that the government could operate them effectively. His opponent accepted the evidence of the success of government regulation and argued that this proved there was no need for government ownership.

The effectiveness of this type of refutation depends on the debater's ability to convince his listeners that his use of the evidence or argument is more nearly correct than his opponent's. Since the same evidence may be used in different connections, the refutation and counterrefutation will deal with the relative merits of the conflicting interpretations.

E. Using Evidence of Silence

The debater should watch the opposition to see whether they remain silent on points which it would be to their advantage to establish. In such cases the silence has significance. In calling this

fact to the attention of the audience, the debater should stress his opponent's knowledge of the question: "Our opponents have made a thorough study of this matter. If such evidence existed they would have presented it to you. Their silence is proof that this argument cannot be substantiated."

Other special methods that can be used occasionally deserve brief mention. Sometimes the debater will discover that his opponent is making a good impression on the audience with a speech that contains very little evidence. Instead of pointing this fact out directly, he should repeat a number of the assertions, asking after each one what proof was given. If all the opposing evidence is drawn from one source, or supported by a very few authorities, this fact should be noted. A rather common tendency of affirmative teams is to give plenty of evidence showing the existence of a problem and to pass hurriedly over the section of the argument that should show how their proposal would remedy the situation. As one negative debater put it: "Our opponents have proved that a good many of us are ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed. From that they jump to the conclusion that giving the federal government more power would insure more food, warmer clothing, and better houses." In such situations, the negative debaters should persistently ask that the affirmative explain their reasons for believing that their proposal would better the situation sufficiently to warrant its adoption.

IV. Preparation for Rebuttal

Here we are concerned with the preparations for refutation and rebuttal that should be made in advance of the debate. There are three phases to this advance preparation: (1) building a strong case that will be difficult to attack; (2) gathering supplementary evidence to reinforce the points that are attacked; and (3) discovering the weak points in the opposing case and gathering evidence that may be used in attacking whatever arguments the other side may advance.

Cases are relatively easy to attack when they attempt to prove too much. Reformers often succumb to two temptations in presenting their arguments: they picture the existing situation as worse than it is, and they claim too much for their reform. A more dis-

criminating analysis of the problem, coupled with more modest claims for the remedy would be more accurate and much more difficult to refute. Negative debaters often fall into the same type of error. They see no good at all in the proposal, or they criticize it for not doing things it was never designed to do. Few proposals are entirely bad. The negative is on stronger ground when it argues that there is not enough good in the affirmative plan to outweigh its weaknesses.

Preparation for refutation involves the gathering and filing of evidence in a form that makes it readily accessible during the debate. Witnesses at important hearings often have filing cases filled with materials that may be needed in answering a question, and secretaries to locate the needed document. The debater must usually content himself with a card file and a supply of cards on which the evidence is recorded. (See instructions and sample cards in Chapter VI.) After the evidence has been gathered, the next step is to prepare a rebuttal card for each main point or argument that may be advanced by the opposition. At the top of the card, record the argument to be refuted; then list briefly all of the evidence and all of the arguments that may be used in answering it. These cards should be prepared by members of the team in conference, so that each may have the benefit of the suggestions of others. Whether all of the material listed should be used in refuting an argument will depend on its importance in the debate. While each debater should be especially prepared to answer attacks on the section of the case presented in his constructive speech, he must also be ready to make some answer to any argument made by the preceding speaker.

Before an important debate, participants usually engage in a number of practice contests with teams from the local squad. From these sessions, the team should develop a general plan or strategy for the refutation and rebuttal. The affirmative team may decide to insist that the negative meet them on two or three basic points; the negative may plan to keep hammering at one or two fundamental weaknesses in the affirmative case. Both teams will have some plan to prevent getting on the defensive. Because even experienced debaters are likely to forget some parts of this plan in the excitement of the debate, it is a good idea for each speaker to have before him a list of points to be stressed, things to be done,

Affirmative Suggestions

1. Stress issues & contentions; make opps. meet us.
2. Insist that disc. be common-sense consid. of live public question; not mere academic debate.
   a. Ridicule overuse of authorities
3. Don't let neg. overdo flag-waving; we are real protectors of Constitution.
4. Don't let them say we haven't est. need and show how plan meets need.
   a. Quote Court's own words on judicial legis.
5. Drive home demand for list of foolish or vicious laws passed by Congress.
6. Don't let neg. put us on defensive.
7. Rebuttal.
   a. Organize around actual issues & make opps. meet us.
   b. Watch for our constructive args. ignored by opps.

Negative Suggestions

1. Keep constantly attacking; don't let them ever put us on defensive.
2. Adapt to case of opps. but hold to our own contentions if at all possible.
3. Press home questions.
   a. Parliamentary govt.
   b. List authorities.
4. Stress
   a. Congress would be supreme; able to pass law depriving Court of review power.
   b. Judicial power given Congress; final judge of constitutionality.
5. Rebuttal
   a. Re-emphasize const. arguments; watch for those ignored.
   b. Support one another's arguments.

and other things to be avoided. Lahman gives us the above specimen cards, used by his students in a series of debates on the proposition, "Resolved, that Congress should be given power to override decisions of the Supreme Court declaring acts of Congress unconstitutional." [2]

V. The Rebuttal Speeches

The rebuttals should be speeches, organized about a central purpose, not a series of disconnected remarks. While answers to individual arguments can be prepared in advance, the speeches must be organized during the progress of the debate. Sometimes, indeed, the outline must be changed at the last moment to make possible a reply to an argument or an attack made near the end of the preceding speech. "Canned" rebuttals, memorized in advance, may have excellent organization and sentence structure but rarely can they be made to sound like extemporaneous conversation, or be adapted to what has just been said. In this situation, the listener prefers extemporaneous thinking and speaking to a more polished style.

There is an important difference between the functions of affirmative and negative rebuttal speeches. The negative speakers are constantly attacking, arguing that the affirmative have failed to make a case for the adoption of the motion. Naturally enough, these attacks will be directed at the weakest points in the affirmative argument; the strong points will be admitted, attacked lightly or, sometimes, ignored. The affirmative rebuttal speakers must do more than answer these attacks; they must restate and amplify the strongest affirmative contentions. Otherwise, the effect will be to ask for adoption of the motion because the proposal is not as bad as the negative believe. Failure to keep the strongest arguments before the audience is one of the common weaknesses in affirmative rebuttals.

Rebuttals often lack the topic sentences and the transitional devices that would knit the separate arguments into a unified speech. Sometimes the debater comes to a full stop at the conclusion of one bit of refutation while he consults his notes; then he looks up and begins with, "Then, too . . . " "They say," or "So far in this

2. C. P. Lahman, *Debate Coaching* (New York, 1936), pp. 209–210. By permission of the H. W. Wilson Company, publishers.

debate . . . " Transitions of this sort neither show the relationship of the two parts of the argument, nor do they give the listener the impression of progress towards a central goal. The rebuttal needs organization as much as any speech; the debater should make special preparations to provide it.

A. Organizing Rebuttal Speeches

The organization of rebuttal speeches will be improved if the debater follows these suggestions:

1. Avoid such trite opening phrases as "The gentleman who has just left the floor" or "My worthy opponent spent nearly all of his time . . . " Remember that, in a five-minute speech you have time for only about 750 words; try to make all of them count. Here are some effective sentences used by college debaters in beginning their rebuttal speeches:

> "Frankly, I am astounded. The gentlemen have come all the way up here from Boston to rebel against the realities of life."
>
> "I should like to read to you the resolution which we are debating tonight."
>
> "May I ask you to go back with me to the beginning of this debate and consider the first argument for government ownership advanced by Mr. Miller?"
>
> "The process of debate is a limited one. For that reason it is necessary that we choose the vital issues and confine ourselves to them."

2. To show that you are following the course of the debate, it is often wise to take up first some point made by the preceding speaker. Sometimes, indeed, you can begin by referring to his concluding argument.

3. If your opponent has raised a large number of questions see if they cannot be grouped under two or three headings. Outline your speech so that you have a strong point near the beginning and another at the end. Just before this strong concluding point put others that you will take up if there is time. Get clearly in mind a picture of your speech as a whole and plan transition sentences that will both introduce the next argument and indicate its importance.

4. Remember that the closing sentences of your rebuttal are your last chance to make a good impression, both for yourself and for your side of the argument. Watch the time signals closely; if

something must be omitted, be sure that it isn't the strong argument you left for the conclusion. The last sentences should be a summary or a conclusion in which, on the basis of the evidence, you ask the audience to join you in your stand on the question. Too many rebuttals end without finishing; the speaker stops wherever he may be and remarks, with an air of surprise or complaint, "Well, I see my time is up." When asked why he did not answer the most important argument, he replies that he intended to but there simply wasn't time. The debater can be excused for failure to recognize the importance that the audience or judge is attaching to an argument; but, having recognized it, he can have no adequate excuse for failure to find time for it in his speech.

B. Special Problems in Rebuttal Speeches

Let us now consider the special problems that confront the speakers who are making the opening and closing rebuttals for each side.

1. According to the usual arrangement, the *first negative rebuttal* follows the last negative "constructive" speech. This gives the negative the longest period of time for the uninterrupted presentation of one side of the argument and compensates for the advantage the affirmative gains from giving the last rebuttal. The first negative rebuttal may be regarded as the last section of the final constructive speech. If these two speeches effectively supplement each other, the affirmative will have difficulty in overcoming the impression they have made.

How, then, can the two speeches be made to supplement each other? Since the presentation of the main arguments must be completed in the constructive speeches, the first negative rebuttal speaker must either reinforce these arguments or continue the attack on the affirmative. Usually he does both. If his colleague does not conclude with a summary of his team's case, he may begin with such a summary and then proceed to attack affirmative contentions, arguing that they cannot be substantiated in the light of the counterevidence his team has presented. If his colleague has summarized the negative case, he should attack any affirmative arguments that have not been refuted, supplement the attacks on others, and continue the process of pointing out weaknesses and dangers in the affirmative proposal. The introductory sen-

tences should be planned in advance to make sure that his speech starts off effectively; otherwise the rebuttal may impair the impression made by the conclusion of the preceding speech.

2. The *first affirmative rebuttal* speaker faces the difficult task of erasing the impression made by two negative speeches. If the opponents are effective debaters, the attention of the audience will be focused on weaknesses in the affirmative argument. If the rebuttal speaker begins immediately to deal with the strongest negative attacks, he will be at a disadvantage. It is at this point that affirmative teams often go onto the defensive. What, then, should the speaker do? After a sentence or two of reply to some minor point, he should briefly, but vigorously, restate the affirmative case. This summary should serve to recall to the listeners the effectiveness of the original presentation of those arguments. This done, he should begin to answer the negative arguments, concluding that they do not warrant the defeat of the proposal.

Here are the opening sentences of a first affirmative rebuttal that kept from getting on the defensive: "I hope you will pardon me if, after these seventeen minutes of objections to a union of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, we restate our reasons for favoring such a union. (Then follows the summary of the affirmative case.) Now, in the light of these reasons and arguments, let's consider some of the objections raised by our opponents."

Each negative objection considered should be analyzed in the light of its bearing on the affirmative argument. While this speech seeks to re-establish the affirmative case, it should be more than a restatement or summary of the materials contained in the constructive speeches; new evidence should be introduced, and at least half of the time should be devoted to direct refutation.

3. The *last negative rebuttal* speaker must resist the temptation to talk about minor points and make a comprehensive analysis of the debate from the negative point of view. This does not mean that his speech should be all summary and restatement. Instead, there should be new evidence and further analysis of important affirmative contentions. The audience should be reminded of points that the affirmative have evaded or ignored. When it seems advisable, the speaker may predict, and answer in advance, the arguments that will be made in the final affirmative rebuttal.

The last part of this speech should be a restatement of the nega-

tive case, stressing the strongest arguments against the proposal and casting doubt on claims made by the affirmative. Debaters sometimes undertake to do this by using a balanced summary of the two cases. One difficulty of the balanced summary is that it may summarize the opposing argument more effectively than one's own. Especially is this true if the opposing case is stated in its entirety before the comparison begins. Another common practice is to close with a statement of the things the affirmative speakers have not done but must do before they can reasonably expect the audience to vote for their proposal. This device is effective if not overdone and if it is clear that the failure is not the fault of the affirmative debaters but due, rather, to weaknesses inherent in their side of the argument.

4. The *last affirmative rebuttal* speaker in a close debate occupies a position of great strategic importance. He must be able to pick out the essential issues and to concentrate his efforts on them. If the last speaker has made an impressive summary, he must attack certain of the negative arguments so vigorously that the effectiveness of the summary is forgotten. He must answer any suggestion that he is using the last speech to make points that would not stand the fire of negative rebuttal, and must be careful to take no unfair advantage of his opponents. He must avoid getting on the defensive, both by an assured manner of delivery and by refusing to be diverted from his main purpose by last-minute questions or challenges.

The last section of the speech should take up, one by one, the arguments that constitute the affirmative case and show that the opposition has not successfully answered them. Admitting that no affirmative team can answer all questions that can be raised, or tell just how a plan that has not been put into operation would work in every instance, the closing speaker should argue that his team has demonstrated a strong probability that their proposal would improve the existing situation.

VI. Common Faults in Rebuttals

This list of faults, and the explanatory comments, are from notes taken by judges while listening to a series of debates.

1. *Poor organization.* Rebuttals were not really speeches; rather,

a series of disconnected items. Instead of throwing more light on the question, the rebuttals were confused and wandering. Some speeches began well but got worse instead of better.

2. *Lack of summaries.* Time was called when speaker was beginning minor point; he closed by saying, "Therefore, we believe that the powers of the Federal Government should be increased." Nothing to connect the speech with the proposition.

3. *Lack of new evidence and reasoning.* Rebuttals were simply five-minute condensations of first speeches. Give us some additional evidence, some further analysis.

4. *Overstatement.* "They have utterly ignored . . ." "We have absolutely proved . . ." One debater said, "I defy the affirmative to name a single authority." The next speaker named one!

5. *Failure to apply evidence to question.* Show why authorities believe what they believe. Let us see what your facts and statistics mean. You have more evidence than you know what to do with.

6. *Too much assertion.* The lack of evidence was excused by saying, "Oh well, you can get authorities (or statistics) on both sides; let's just reason this out together." But reasoning should be based on evidence; otherwise there would be no real debate.

7. *Confusing persons named as sources of information and persons whose opinions are cited.* Both sides can properly quote the same sources of information, but this does not make the person quoted "*our* authority." An authority might be quoted by both sides in supporting subordinate arguments; but certainly no real authority would be on both sides of the main question!

8. *Failure to distinguish between the functions of affirmative and negative rebuttals.* The negative seemed to accept the burden of proof, instead of attacking the affirmative. The affirmative attempted to refute the negative arguments but failed to re-establish their own.

VII. Departures from the Code of Fair Play

The following errors represent, fortunately, only occasional, and regrettable, departures from the code of good manners and fair play.

1. *Misquoting an opponent.* This was unintentional, no doubt,

but none the less unfair. The speaker evidently wanted his opponent to make that argument because he had an answer ready. Another speaker misquoted because he was so busy talking with his colleague that he did not listen carefully.

2. *Attacking the opponent instead of the argument.* "They have deliberately misquoted us . . ." How do you know? Why not assume that they are as honest as you are? "If they had studied the questions thoroughly . . ." People who live in glass houses . . . Why not let the audience be the judge?

3. *Misquoting an authority.* Giving only the part of a quotation that favors your side was probably due to carelessness in checking the authority's statement. Fortunately the other side corrected the omission and administered the deserved rebuke; otherwise the listeners would have been misinformed.

Refutation is an important part of every argument, whether about the conference table, or in the deliberations of legislative assemblies. Poorly done, it may divert attention from the central issues to personal attacks and recriminations, and serve only to confuse participants and listeners. Properly conducted, refutation and rebuttal subject each important argument to searching scrutiny and result in a final judgment based on a fair consideration of all available evidence.

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EXERCISES

1. Read one of the above references. In a five-minute speech, compare what you have read with the information contained in this chapter.

2. The class should be divided into pairs for rebuttal practice. Each pair should agree upon a topic on which evidence is readily available. One will make a three-minute argument; the other will counter with a two-minute rebuttal. The class will identify the methods used and comment on their effectiveness.

3. Attend an intercollegiate debate and observe the refutation, both in the constructive arguments and in the rebuttal speeches. Were any of the special methods used? Which of the general methods? Which team was forced onto the defensive? Which speaker was most effective? Hand in a report of your observations.

4. Read a stenographic report of a debate in the *University Debaters' Annual*, *Intercollegiate Debates*, or similar publication. Hand in a report embodying your answers to the questions in the preceding exercise, and any other observations that you made on the effectiveness of the refutation.

5. Hand in two rebuttal cards, prepared for use in one of your class debates.

6. Hand in a statement of the general plan for refutation prepared by your team for your final class debate.

7. From one of the great American debates, select passages that state and refute a single argument. One member of the class should explain the occasion of the debate and the issues involved; a second member should read the argument; a third, the refutation. Current materials for this exercise will be found in the Congressional Record.

8. Analyze the methods of refutation used in the following paragraphs. Could this refutation have been given with equal effectiveness by a student debater? Why, or why not?

(a) "In the course of my former remarks, Mr. President, I took occasion to deprecate, as one of the greatest evils, *the consolidation of this government*. The gentleman takes alarm at the sound. 'Consolidation,' like the tariff, grates upon his ear. He tells us 'we have heard much of late about consolidation; that it is the rallying word for all who are endeavoring to weaken the Union by adding to the power of the States.' But consolidation (says the gentleman) was the very object for which the Union was

formed; and, in support of that opinion, he read a passage from the address of the President of the Convention to Congress, which he assumes to be an authority on his side of the question. But, sir, the gentleman is mistaken. The object of the framers of the Constitution, as disclosed in that address, was not the consolidation of the government, but 'the consolidation of the Union.' It was not to draw power from the States in order to transfer it to a great national government, but, in the language of the Constitution itself, 'to form a more perfect Union,'—and by what means? By 'establishing justice, promoting domestic tranquility, and securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.' This is the true reading of the Constitution. But, according to the gentleman's reading, the object of the Constitution was to consolidate the government, and the means would seem to be the promotion of injustice, causing domestic discord, and depriving the States and the people of 'the blessings of liberty' forever." (From Hayne's speech in the Webster-Hayne debate.)

(b) "You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it; and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown!! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable for not designating the man and proving the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable for asserting it, and especially for persisting in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true, is simply malicious slander." (From Lincoln's speech at Cooper Institute.)

(c) "I come to the testimony of the father. I find myself incapable of speaking of him or his testimony with severity. Unfortunate old man! Another Lear, in the conduct of his children; another Lear, I apprehend, in the effect of his distress upon his mind and understanding. He is brought here to testify, under circumstances that disarm severity, and call loudly for sympathy. Though it is impossible not to see that his story cannot be credited, yet I am unable to speak of him otherwise than in sorrow and grief. Unhappy father! he strives to remember, perhaps persuades himself that he does remember, that on the evening of the murder he was himself at home at ten o'clock. He thinks, or seems to think, that his son came in at about five minutes

past ten. He fancies that he remembers his conversation; he thinks he spoke of bolting the door; he thinks he asked the time of night; he seems to remember his then going to bed. Alas! these are but the swimming fancies of an agitated and distressed mind. Alas! they are but the dreams of hope, its uncertain lights, flickering on the thick darkness of parental distress. Alas! the miserable father knows nothing, in reality, of all these things." (From Webster's speech in the Knapp-White murder case. He is speaking of the father of the man who is on trial.)

(d) "Lawyers stand here by the day and read cases from the Dark Ages, where judges have said that if a man had a grain of sense left and a child if he was barely out of his cradle, could be hanged because he knew the difference between right and wrong. Death sentences for eighteen, seventeen, sixteen, and fourteen years have been cited. Brother Marshall has not half done his job. He should read his beloved Blackstone again. . . .

"Why did not my friend, Mr. Marshall, who dug up from the relics of the buried past these precedents that would bring a blush of shame to the face of a savage, read this from Blackstone: 'Under fourteen, though an infant shall be judged to be incapable of guile *prima facie*, yet if it appeared to the court and the jury that he was capable of guile, and could discern between good and evil, he may be convicted and suffer death.'

"Thus a girl of thirteen has been burned for killing her mistress . . . One boy of ten, and another of nine years of age, who had killed his companion were sentenced to death; and he of ten actually hanged. Why? He knew the difference between right and wrong. He had learned that in Sunday School. . . .

"My friend Marshall has read Blackstone by the page, as if it had something to do with a fairly enlightened age, as if it had something to do with the year 1924, as if it had something to do with Chicago, with its boys' courts, and its fairly tender protection of the young. . . ." (From Clarence Darrow's plea in the Leopold-Loeb murder case.)

(e) "The report is diligently circulated that men of a certain age are refused work, that employers conspire to make men of 45 or more, obsolete. Without proof, without evidence, the notion is nonetheless current that the practice prevails whether by agreement or not.

"The fact seems to have escaped general notice that in this country employment of persons of 45 or older *has been on the increase for 30 years.* In the year 1900 the census showed that

20 per cent of all employed persons were 45 to 65 years old; the last census increased that to 25.4 per cent. Employees 40 to 65 years of age comprised 23 per cent of the total in 1900, and rose to 35 per cent in 1930. That is, increased employment of the older age groups favorably affected 2,500,000 persons. These are the government's employment figures for the entire nation. The picture is somewhat changed in specific industries. In the Ford Motor Company, for example, the percentage of employees from 40 to 65 years of age is higher than it is or ever has been for the nation at large. The nation's highest employment in this age group has been only 35 per cent of total employments—in the Ford factory it is 43½ per cent. This is the more remarkable because 'heavy industries' in 'manufacturing' provide only 13 per cent of the nation's total wage-earning work. Running over some daily reports, we found that of the last 697 men more than 40 years old, hired by the Company, 207 were more than 50 years old, four were 65, six were 66, and four were more than 70. There is a reason for this, just as there may be a reason for what seems to be the opposite practice in other places, and these we shall discuss later on." (William J. Cameron, "Age and Jobs," an address on the Ford Sunday Evening Hour.)

CHAPTER XXVII

Evaluating Debate

The value of debate as a method of analyzing many types of problems and deciding matters of public policy is not here an issue. With all its shortcomings, debate is the foundation stone of democracy and the safeguard of individual liberties. This chapter considers the methods of evaluating specific debates, not the effectiveness of debate as a general method.

I. Bases for Evaluation

The first step in judging the worth of a debate is to determine its purpose. Classified on this basis, debates fall into three groups. In the first are legislative and judicial debates conducted by, or before, individuals who are empowered to decide the question at issue. This group includes the informal debates on motions that take place in the business meetings of all types of organizations, as well as those that occur before juries and in legislative assemblies. The purpose is to secure a decision based on a consideration of the evidence and arguments advanced by the speakers on both sides.

The second group consists of debates on current problems held before public forums and similar organizations. Members of these audiences have no power to decide the issue. The purpose is to create an informed opinion that will result in an intelligent decision when the occasion arises.

Debates conducted primarily to train the participants constitute the third group. The debaters are members of school teams or of

forensic societies. Sometimes, as in the case of most tournaments, no audience is present. Listeners should be invited when the debaters are prepared to add to their knowledge of the problem and thus provide the basis for an informed opinion.

With the purpose of debate clearly in mind, the process of evaluation consists of finding such answers as are available to the following questions.

A. Did the Debate Arouse Interest in the Problem?

This question applies especially to debates on problems that are new to the listeners. Bills are often introduced in legislative bodies when their sponsors know that favorable action cannot be secured. The purpose is to start discussion that may result in the passage of a similar bill at a later session. Most reforms are kept before the public for years before they are finally enacted into law.

The effect of a debate in arousing public interest in the problem is difficult to measure. Indications of immediate success would be the size of the audience and the amount of space devoted to the meeting in the newspapers. Something may be learned by consulting libraries and bookstores for evidence of a desire to read about the problem and by noting whether it is discussed in sermons or public lectures. The best evidence, although difficult to gather, is found in informal conversations. If people begin to talk about the question with their friends, the process of forming public opinion is under way.

B. Did It Provide the Basis for Intelligent Decision?

This question applies to debates that precede action on a bill or motion. A good debate should give the voter an understanding of the issues involved and of the strongest evidence that can be advanced on either side. He may not change his opinions on the question; the debate may simply give him better reasons for retaining his original beliefs. Since individuals vary in ability and information, judgments on the value of a given debate may also vary. Those who know little about the problem may be helped while those who have made a special study of the measure may gain little. Parliamentary procedure makes possible the termination of debate as soon as two thirds of those present decide that further discussion would be unprofitable.

C. Did It Change the Opinions of Listeners?

This question may properly be asked of any debate when listeners are present. A vote taken at the end of a debate determines the action of the group, but does not necessarily measure the full effectiveness of the speakers in changing opinions. The side that wins a majority vote may still have lost ground during the argument; the losers may have stated their case so effectively that public opinion will eventually turn in their favor. The real influence on the opinions of listeners can only be determined by comparing records taken at the beginning and, again, at the end of the debate. The experimental procedures for making such studies are described in Chapter XXI, "Evaluating Discussion."

In applying this test of effectiveness the nature of the debate proposition should be considered. If fundamental beliefs are not involved, a single debate may change the opinions of a large proportion of the audience. However, if the listeners are asked to change practices that have prevailed for generations, or to abandon ideas they have always accepted, a single debate, no matter how skilled the speakers or how logical the argument, may have little effect.

D. Was It Valuable Training for the Debaters?

The primary purpose of school debates is to train the participants; the effect on any audience that may be present is secondary. Based on the axiom that we learn to do by doing, debate is designed to train students for positions of leadership by providing opportunities to speak under conditions that resemble life situations.

There is convincing evidence, from observers and participants, that debate can be a valuable educational method. Speaking of the disputations that were an important feature of university training in the Middle Ages, Paulson says, ". . . such intellectual tournaments, in which students were taught to defend a thesis against attack, did more to enable them to grasp a subject than the mute and solitary cramming for our modern examinations could possibly do. That method brought into play all the excitement of the contest, the triumphs of success and the disgrace of defeat, in order to emphasize the value of what had been learned, together with the importance of an alert wit and the readiness to use it." [1]

1. Quoted in the article on Disputations in the *Encyclopedia Americana.*

A number of investigations have shown that American college debaters are markedly above the average in intelligence and scholarship, and win more than their proportionate share of campus honors. In 1938 more than one tenth of the members of one national honorary forensic society who had graduated before 1920 were included in *Who's Who in America*. The list included 201 educators, 84 judges and lawyers, 37 ministers and social workers, 44 business executives, 57 government officials, 29 writers and publishers, and 9 who had won distinction in miscellaneous fields. Of these, almost 200 were members of Phi Beta Kappa.[2]

A questionnaire was sent to 200 former debaters who had been out of college for at least five years. Replies were received from 105. To the question, "What is your present belief concerning the value of your intercollegiate debating experience?" only three made replies that were even mildly unfavorable. The others regarded debating as a valuable part of their education. Thirteen said they had gained more from it than from any single course. Another question asked for a listing of the most important benefits derived from debating. Fifty listed the value of speaking when something (the judges' decision or audience approval) was at stake; thirty-eight said that they gained needed self-confidence; twenty-six, that they learned how "to go to the bottom of a question"; twenty-nine, that debating showed them how to analyze a current problem; fifty-one, that they learned to "think on their feet"; and twenty-two thought the greatest value of debating was that it taught them to be tolerant.

II. Experimental Studies

Our beliefs as to the values of debating, whether as a method of reaching a group decision or as a school exercise, are based almost entirely on subjective analysis, observation, and testimony. There have been few experiments to determine the effects of a debate on the opinions of listeners and participants, or to measure the relative effectiveness of different types of debating. Certain of the studies summarized in Chapter XXI, "Evaluating Discussion," throw some light on these questions. Their results should be compared with the findings of the studies reported here.

2. *The Gavel* of Delta Sigma Rho, March, 1939, p. 35.

In 1923, or thereabouts, a number of debate coaches became interested in measuring the effects of debates on the opinions of the listeners. Different forms of the shift-of-opinion ballot were used, the listeners recording their opinions on the question before and after the debate. Utterback reports that this type of ballot was used at the Dartmouth-Columbia debate in 1924. The question was whether the United States should enter the World Court and "exactly one third of the audience recorded at least a slight shift of opinion." [3] At about the same time, the shift-of-opinion ballot was used in an international debate on prohibition between teams representing the University of Kansas and Oxford University. A total of 758 ballots were marked before and after the debate; changes of opinion were recorded by 185 voters, about 25 per cent of the audience.[4]

In 1924, a constitutional amendment that, in effect, would have abolished parochial schools was submitted to the voters of Michigan. A few days before the election, affirmative and negative teams from Albion College held a public debate on the advisability of adopting the amendment. Thirty per cent of the 298 voters indicated that they had changed their opinions as a result of listening to the debate. Thirty-six of the forty-three who were undecided at the beginning of the debate registered a definite opinion at its conclusion; twenty who originally voted for or against the amendment were undecided; twenty-eight shifted position from affirmative to negative, or vice versa.[5]

The most significant study of the effect of debates on the opinions of listeners was made by Woodward. He analyzed the shifts of opinion recorded by 3,540 voters, members of 118 audiences who listened to debates on eight different questions. Many of the listeners were adults: members of luncheon clubs, lodges, and church groups. A summary of all ballots showed:

Before the Debate		*After the Debate*
1,303	In favor of the motion	1,652
1,162	Undecided	345
1,075	Opposed to the motion	1,543

3. W. E. Utterback, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, X (1924), pp. 315–316.
4. Bryan A. Gilkinson, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XI (1925), pp. 100–101.
5. H. L. Ewbank, *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XI (1925), pp. 101–102.

Of the 1,303 who were originally in favor of the motion, 51.9 per cent reported that their opinions were strengthened; 17.5 per cent, that their opinions were weakened; 30.2 per cent, that their opinions were unchanged. Almost identical results were reported by the 1,075 audience members who were opposed to the motion at the beginning of the debate: opinions strengthened 52.7 per cent; opinions weakened, 17.1 per cent; opinions unchanged, 30.2 per cent. The final ballots of the 1,162 who were undecided showed that 40.9 per cent changed to the affirmative; 43.3 per cent to the negative; while 15.8 per cent remained undecided when the debate was over. While about 70 per cent of those with initial beliefs on the question registered a change of opinion, it is important to note that the majority of these changes were in the direction of strengthening the original belief.

Lund was interested in finding out whether changing the order of presentation, so that the negative argument is given first, had any effect on the final opinion of the listener or reader. Arguments of the same length and persuasive quality were prepared on both sides of three questions. Three groups received the affirmative arguments first; for three similar groups the order was reversed. Lund concludes that, "The consistency with which the first discussion was most effective in determining the final position of the subject confirms the presupposition of a law of primacy in persuasion. . . . In a debate, other things being equal, the affirmative . . . should have the advantage." He adds, however, that, "in staged debates, the principle is likely to be much less influential because of the more objective attitude taken by the audience toward the issue itself." In organizing his argument, "the debater should not follow the climactic order in presenting his argument, but should weaken sympathy with his opponent promptly by attacking the strongest argument first, thus lessening the force of his adversary's case as quickly as possible." [6]

The results of an experiment conducted by Knower are of interest here. He prepared two sets of speeches for and against the Prohibition Amendment, which had not then been repealed. One set of speeches, for and against, stressed evidence and logical argument; the other, persuasion and emotional appeals. The speeches

6. F. H. Lund, "The Psychology of Belief," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XX (1925), pp. 174–196.

were about 2,500 words in length and, aside from the difference noted, similar in content and quality. One group read the logical arguments for and against prohibition; the other, the persuasive arguments. Moreover, one half of each group read first the speech defending the original opinion, then the speech attacking it; for the other half, the order was reversed. Thurstone scales were used to measure changes in attitude. Knower found that "when two arguments are presented so that the subject reads what might be roughly referred to as a debate on the subject, no significant *group* changes occur." There were *individual* changes of opinion, but they tended to cancel each other. Like Woodward, he found that "more subjects change in the direction of an intensification of the attitude previously held than in the opposite direction." His final conclusion, that "primacy in the order of reading influenced the amount and possibly the direction of change in attitude," tends to confirm Lund's belief in a "law of primacy." [7]

The only significant study of the relative effectiveness of different types of debating in changing opinions, reported to date, was made by Millson. He trained two debate teams, approximately equal in ability and speaking skill. The affirmative team varied its method of debating, using three different "modes" in the course of the experiment: the conversational, the exhibitory, and the academic. The *conversational mode* he defined as the usual blend of argument and persuasion, delivered in the tone of direct, interested conversation. The *exhibitory mode* made greater use of appeals to the basic emotions and of rhetorical devices to secure vividness. The delivery inclined to the "oratorical." The *academic mode* relied on evidence and argument; the delivery was more uniform than in the conversational mode, and quite different in manner from the exhibitory. The negative team used the conversational mode throughout the twenty-three debates before nonacademic audiences included in the experiment. The Woodward shift-of-opinion ballot was used.

Millson found that the exhibitory mode was most successful in securing favorable changes of opinion and in holding the affirmative

7. F. H. Knower, "A Study of the Effect of Printed Argument on Changes in Attitude," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXX (1936), pp. 522–532.

opinions that existed at the beginning of the debate. The conversational mode ranked second, and the academic, third.[8]

Capel measured the effects of a season's debating on the attitude of high-school debaters towards federal aid to education, and changes of attitude produced in nine audiences of high-school students who heard one of these debates. The attitudes of 213 debaters, from thirty-two Wisconsin high schools, were recorded at the beginning and again at the end of the debate season. Of these, 93 were members of affirmative teams; 92, of negative teams; while 23 debated both sides of the question. Forty per cent of the 213 debaters changed their attitude towards federal aid to education significantly during the debate season. Those who were mildly in favor of the side of the question they supported in the debates tended to believe more firmly in that side at the time of the second test. Those who were rather extreme in their views at the beginning tended to be less sure at the end. Those who debated both sides of the question tended to shift in the direction of a neutral opinion.

Information and attitude tests, before and after the debate, were taken by 730 high school students who heard nine different debates. Forty per cent of the listeners made a significant change of attitude. Contrary to the findings of previous studies, these shifts of opinion showed a tendency "to be in the direction of lessening the strength of the initial attitude." Capel found no relationship between the amount of information gained by the listeners during the debate and the amount of attitude change. Noting that "the individual shifts are in different directions and tend to counteract each other," he observes that "debate would not be a good method for the propagandist." [9]

Though less extensive, one other study is included because it measures the changes of opinion produced by relatively untrained debaters, members of rural community clubs, on other members of these organizations. The debates were held in 1934 on a question on which there were marked differences of opinion: "Resolved,

8. William A. D. Millson, "Measuring Audience Reaction," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XVIII (1932), pp. 621–637.

9. Robert B. Capel, "The Effects of High-School Debating on the Attitude of Debaters and Listeners." Unpublished study, University of Wisconsin, 1939.

that the principles of the present A.A.A. program should be made the basis of a permanent policy for agriculture." Shift-of-opinion ballots were marked by 117 members of two audiences that heard different debates. Of these, fifty-eight, almost exactly 50 per cent, registered a change of opinion.[10]

From these studies, the following conclusions and inferences may be drawn:

(1) Debaters do change the opinions of a significant proportion of their listeners. The percentage of changes depends on a number of factors, including the relative merits of the affirmative and negative presentations, and the intensity with which the original opinions are held.
(2) Listening to a debate seems more likely to strengthen existing opinions than to weaken them. However, in Capel's study with a relatively new question the reverse was true.
(3) Since both sides of the question are presented, there are changes of opinion in both directions. Sometimes the majority vote of an audience would not be changed by a debate because of the tendency of individual changes to cancel each other. For this reason, unless he is very sure of the merits of his cause, debate is not a good method for the propagandist.
(4) In a good many cases, the shift-of-opinion ballots reveal movement in one direction that would affect the result. Where it does not, the debate may have value in providing the individual with better reasons for his unchanged belief.
(5) The studies of Lund and Knower suggest that the side of an argument presented first has the advantage. This does not always give the advantage to the affirmative, because the audience may already have heard and accepted the negative side of the argument.
(6) Millson's study suggests that student debating is sometimes too "academic" to be effective with lay audiences.

III. Methods of Judging

Different methods are properly used for judging judicial, legislative, and school debates. Members of a jury are chosen from those who have no information and no fixed opinions about the case. During the trial they listen only to the evidence, presented

10. Unpublished study by A. F. Wileden and H. L. Ewbank.

in accordance with the rules of judicial procedure, and to the arguments of opposing counsel. At its conclusion, the judge instructs them concerning the law and presents them with the questions, which, after consultation among themselves, they must answer affirmatively or negatively. They render judgment on the facts of the case; the judge makes decisions on matters of law and on the severity or leniency of any punishments that may be imposed.

The legislator, on the other hand, often enters the debate with information about the bill and opinions concerning its value. He is free to get additional information from any available source and to consult the wishes of his constituents. His decision should be based on his answers to two sometimes conflicting questions: (1) Would the passage of this measure serve the public interest? (2) Do the voters whom I represent favor or oppose it?

We are here mainly concerned with the judging of interschool debates. On this subject there has been much confused thinking, due largely to a failure to distinguish between these debates and those held in the actual settlement of some controversy. Our conclusions concerning the judging of contest debates should be based on answers to three questions: (1) Why should there be any decision in connection with interschool debates? (2) Who should give such decisions as are desired? (3) On what bases should school debates be judged?

A. Why Judge Debates?

Some understanding of the development of contest debating in the United States is necessary as a background for answering this question. Debating societies occupied a pre-eminent place in almost every college, and in many other communities, until about 1880. Members took their turns at debating and their efforts were judged by the audience who voted, sometimes on what they thought about the question and sometimes on the merits of the debating. A faculty member often served as critic, commenting on the work of each speaker. When, for various reasons, literary and debating societies began to decline in importance, intersociety and intercollegiate contests were arranged to stimulate lagging interest in debating and public speaking. The early intercollegiate debates were judged by a board of three distinguished men who voted on the merits of the debating. From their origin in 1867, the verdict in the inter-

society debates at the University of Wisconsin was given by a committee of three or five judges.

The choosing of judges was undertaken with as much care as would be employed in the selection of a jury for an important trial. In 1893, for example, the Wisconsin intersociety debate was postponed for several days because members of the two teams would not agree on the judges. The *Daily Cardinal* said, "Each side felt that the other was interested only in getting judges who were prejudiced on the question. . . . Finally it was agreed to leave the choice of the third judge to a faculty committee of three." After the Presidents of Northwestern University and the University of Chicago sent regrets, President Adams of Wisconsin was chosen. Judges for intercollegiate debates were selected after elaborate negotiations. The Wisconsin *Daily Cardinal* for January 29, 1893, comments on the process of choosing judges for the Wisconsin-Illinois debate of that year: "Choosing judges has always been a source of contention between intercollegiate debate teams, but the method proposed is expected to overcome these difficulties. Wisconsin submits three sets of names: six from Wisconsin, six from Illinois, and six from other states—and Illinois chooses one from each list."

This process was time-consuming and, in the opinion of many, placed too much emphasis on winning. To emphasize other values, some debates were held without judges. In 1915, H. B. Gough of De Pauw told of nondecision debates held with teams from the University of Indiana before audiences in nearby high schools. He wrote, "Under this system, the preparation of the men is just as keen to win the approval of the audience, and the spirit of the audience just as exemplary, as under the old arrangement involving decision debates before student audiences . . ." [11] However, this conclusion was not shared by all who experimented with nondecision debates. The Western Conference Debating League decided after a one-year trial of judgeless debates, in 1920–21, that much of the incentive to thorough preparation was lacking and began to use critic judges who, in addition to awarding a decision, analyzed the debate for the benefit of the audience.

The plan of having a single critic-judge was developed both to

11. H. B. Gough, Forum note in *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, October, 1915.

secure competent judges and to provide instruction in debating for debaters and audience alike. It is widely used at present, whenever decisions on the merits of the debating are desired. Early in the 1920's, a number of schools decided to have members of the audience decide the debate by the use of the shift-of-opinion ballot, described earlier in this book. Others asked the audience to vote on the merits of the debating. A more recent development is the legislative session in which the final decision is rendered by the student debaters who vote on the passage of the proposed legislation. The current practice is to have various types of decisions, as well as some nondecision debates, in the year's forensic program.

The reasons for debate decisions are summarized in the following statements:

(1) The only reason for holding debates in real life situations is the necessity for reaching a decision on a problem of policy. School exercises should resemble life situations as nearly as possible. Moreover, training in winning and losing is a valuable educational discipline.
(2) The decision usually stimulates the debaters to greater efforts, both in preparation and performance, than they would otherwise make. The desire to excel is a powerful motivating force that should not be discarded because it is sometimes unwisely used.
(3) The decision is valuable because it gives the debater an evaluation of his efforts. If he loses, he should analyze his weaknesses and attempt to remedy them; if he wins, he should find out the reasons for his success that he may use the same methods again.
(4) The decision is valuable if it gives members of the audience training in the evaluation of arguments. Every citizen, though he may never appear in a public debate, should be an intelligent listener. Members of the audience who compare their own decisions with that of the official judge are taking part in a profitable educational enterprise.

B. Who Should Judge Debates?

Here again we turn to the record. We have seen that debates held in literary societies were often judged by members of the audience. Since they were interested in methods of debating, at least as much as in the topic, their judgment differed from that of the popular audience. When intersociety debates were held, it became necessary to devise a different method of judging. The answer was a

board, usually consisting of three eminent citizens. This board had a twofold purpose: to give a verdict and to add dignity and importance to the occasion. Lawyers, statesmen, and ministers were chosen because of their experience in public speaking; court judges, because of their experience in evaluating the speeches of others. The same practice was followed in the early days of intercollegiate debating. For example, the Northwestern-Wisconsin debate of 1897 was judged by Governor Pingree of Michigan, Judge Brill of Minnesota, and Senator Beveridge of Indiana.

When the number of intercollegiate debates increased, it was naturally difficult to secure three distinguished judges for every event. At about the same time, faculty members began to take a more active part in training the debaters. They insisted that debate judges should have knowledge of the objectives of intercollegiate debating and experience in teaching argumentation. For a number of years debates at most institutions were judged by three former debaters or debate coaches. This change to professional judges was deplored by William H. Davis who argued that "the one feature of debating which is indispensable to its success as a device for securing training in public speaking is the retention of able non-debaters as judges. Judged by them, debating will remain where it belongs—very close to actual life." [12]

Later developments, already mentioned, include the use of the single critic-judge, the return to audience decisions, and the organization of student legislative assemblies in which the debaters themselves vote as legislators.

The answer to the question, "Who should judge debates?" depends on the purpose of the debate. If the objective is to train the participants in the methods of effective oral argument, the judging should be done by a critic, or teacher, qualified to give instruction in those matters. If the aim is to duplicate as nearly as possible the life situation where the speaker addresses his argument to a court or commission, the decision should be made by representatives of this group. If the purpose is to approximate the situation where the decision is made by the voting public, rather than by trained judges, the verdict should be given by members of the audience. Since one purpose of debating is to train participants to meet dif-

12. William H. Davis, "Debating as Related to Non-Academic Life," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, I (1915), pp. 105–113.

ferent situations, all three types of judging might well be used in the course of a debate season.

C. On What Basis Should Decisions Be Given?

Judges in the first intercollegiate debates were instructed to "decide upon the merits of the debate, without regard to the merits of the question." [13] With the exception of occasions where such devices as the shift-of-opinion ballot are used, the same instructions are given today.

It has always been understood that these instructions represent the ideal rather than the attainable. No judge, whether he is listening to an intercollegiate debate or to an argument before the Supreme Court, can erase from his mind all that he knows and believes about the subject under discussion. The lawyer who represents a large corporation is careful to inquire whether prospective jurors are prejudiced against big business. The legislator hopes that his bill will be referred to a friendly committee. Moreover, there is a tendency to overrate the speaking ability of those with whom we agree, and to be severe in our criticisms of opposing speakers. Opposition papers reported that Lincoln's address at Gettysburg was even weaker than they had been led to expect; only his loyal supporters praised it.

A primary qualification of the debate judge is that he be relatively free from prejudice on the question and have some skill in distinguishing between the strength of an argument and the manner of its presentation. It is equally important that he be competent to instruct the speakers in effective debating and the audience in the art of intelligent listening.

When a simple ballot is used, each judge is free to make his own definition of effective debating. While judges differ in the relative importance they assign to subject matter and delivery, and in their preferences for different types of evidence and methods of analysis, they generally agree that decisions should be based on their answers to these five questions:

(1) Which team excelled in effective public speaking?
(2) Which team made the better analysis of the question?

13. R. C. Ringwalt, "Intercollegiate Debates," *Forum*, XXII (1897), pp. 633 ff.

(3) Which team was superior in supporting its case with good evidence and sound reasoning?
(4) Which team was better at adapting its case to that of the opposition?
(5) Which team made the better rebuttal speeches?

Before the debate begins, the judge should make sure that he understands the purpose of the contest. He should know whether the speakers are supposedly addressing a popular audience or a judge trained in listening and in following complicated lines of

CRITIC'S BALLOT—INVITATIONAL DEBATE MEETING [14]

Date ______________________

Time ____________ Room ________

I. QUALITY OF THE DEBATING

Note: Please indicate the relative skill of each debater in each of the six phases of debating by placing numbers selected from the following scale (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7) in the appropriate column. (1 is poor; 7 is superior.)

	Affirmative 1	Affirmative 2	Negative 1	Negative 2
1. Analysis—plan of case	( )	( )	( )	( )
2. Knowledge, information	( )	( )	( )	( )
3. Reasoning, inferences	( )	( )	( )	( )
4. Adapting to opposing case	( )	( )	( )	( )
5. Skill in rebuttal	( )	( )	( )	( )
6. Speaking skill	( )	( )	( )	( )

II. RANK OF DEBATERS

Affirmative ____________________ School	Negative ____________________ School
1. ______________________ ( )	1. ______________________ ( )
2. ______________________ ( )	2. ______________________ ( )

Note: Please rank the debaters in the order of their excellence by placing either 1, 2, 3, or 4 in the parentheses to the right of the debater's name. (1 indicates the most, 4 the least effective.)

I believe the ______________ team, representing ______________ college, did the better debating.

Critic ______________________________

14. Prepared by Professor F. L. D. Holmes of the Illinois Normal University.

reasoning. Usually he is expected to state the reasons for his decision at the end of the debate; sometimes he has a conference with the debaters and coaches for a more complete analysis than the audience could be expected to follow.

At debate tournaments, there is often no time for an extended analysis of each debate. Moreover, the coaches are usually serving as judges and are not present to hear what is said about their own teams. To provide some information that may guide the debaters in their future efforts, ballots (see page 506) are used. The judge hands a copy to each team at the conclusion of the debate.

Debate decisions are valuable when they stimulate the participants to make thorough preparation, provide training in winning and losing gracefully, and give suggestions for doing better next time. The audience decision records the effect of the speaking but the debater is left with the task of analyzing why he won or lost. The critic judge analyzes why he voted as he did, but he does not always represent the judgment of the audience. The value of his decision depends upon his qualifications as a teacher of argumentation. Properly used, all methods can contribute to the education of debaters and listeners alike.

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Sarett, L. R., "The Expert Judge of Debate," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, III (1917), pp. 135–139.

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Woodward, H. S., "Measurement and Analysis of Audience Opinion," *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, XIV (1928), pp. 94–110.

EXERCISES

1. Make a five-minute speech to the class, based on one of the suggested readings. Your purpose is to give information not contained in this chapter and to evaluate any differences of opinion that may exist.

2. Attend an intercollegiate debate. Judge it according to the criteria suggested in this chapter and compare your decision with that of the official judge.

3. Read the stenographic report of an intercollegiate debate in *Intercollegiate Debates*, *University Debaters' Annual*, or other yearbook of debating. Judge it on the basis of the criteria suggested in this chapter, and compare your decision with that of the judge.

4. Have different members of the audience at an intercollegiate debate use different methods of judging the debate. Compare the results.

5. Discuss the size of the audience as a measure of the effectiveness of a debate.

6. Make the list of the occasions where some form of debate is used in your own community. What types of decisions are given?

7. What criteria might be used in evaluating the Lincoln-Douglas and Webster-Hayne debates?

8. Analyze and comment on the reasoning involved in the following statements:

   (a) Debates should be discontinued because they make the listeners less sure of their views on the question.

   (b) Since judges often disagree, decisions do not mean anything and should be discontinued.

   (c) Obviously, there is only one right side to a question. Therefore it should be the task of the leader to find the right side and present it to his group.

   (d) Debating in political campaigns is bound to be ineffective, since only a few can understand the complicated economic and political issues. The only thing we can do is to let our leaders decide these questions for us.

(e) Since debates encourage sophistry, they should be replaced by discussions which encourage a search for truth.

9. Make a short speech to the class on one of the following topics:

(a) Debate as a propaganda device.

(b) The argument for nondecision debate.

(c) "The judge was obviously prejudiced . . ."

(d) The first intercollegiate debates at our school.

10. Study the records of former intercollegiate debaters at your school. Does the evidence indicate either that debate offers training for leadership or that potential leaders become debaters?

APPENDIX

Selected Bibliographies

These selected bibliographies will direct the reader to transcripts of discussions and debates on current issues, and to series of publications providing up-to-date information on discussion and debate topics.

Transcripts of Discussions

1. *Best Broadcasts of 1938–39, et. seq.*, Max Wylie, editor (McGraw-Hill, New York). Contains transcripts of outstanding examples of current broadcast discussions: The People's Platform, America's Town Meeting of the Air, The University of Chicago Round Table, etc.
2. *Congressional Hearings*, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Reports of testimony given in public hearings on pending legislation before Senate and House committees.
3. *Discussion Methods*, 2nd edition revised, J. V. Garland and Charles F. Phillips, editors (H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1940). Transcripts of an informal group discussion, a committee discussion, a committee hearing, a panel, a colloquy, a lecture-forum, a forum dialogue, a symposium, and a debate. Descriptions of variations in the use of these forms.
4. *Discussion Methods for Adult Groups*, Thomas Fassler, editor, American Association for Adult Education (New York, 1934). Transcript of a forum lecture, a forum dialogue, a symposium, two informal group discussions, and a panel.
5. *Education on the Air*, Josephine H. MacLatchy, editor, Ohio State University, Columbus. Yearbooks of the Institute for Education by Radio. Most issues contain transcripts of discussions done

in the manner of current radio series, and advice on the handling of controversial issues.

6. *Fortune Magazine*, New York. Summaries of conclusions reached by conferences of experts on some current problem, under the leadership of Raymond Leslie Buell.
7. *Forum Magazine*, New York. Transcripts of "Socratic Dialogues" conducted by Henry Goddard Leach.
8. *High-School Students Talk It Over*, Keith Tyler and High-School Students, Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University (Columbus, 1937). Transcripts of five thirty-minute panel discussions.
9. *Journal of Adult Education*, published by the National Association for Adult Education, 60 East 42nd St., New York City. Volumes IV, V and VI (1932–3–4) contain transcripts of seven panel discussions.
10. *Modern Speeches on Basic Issues*, Lew Sarett and William Trufant Foster, editors (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston, 1939). Transcript of a radio dialogue in the "You and Your Government" series, and of an extemporaneous informal discussion in the "People's Platform" series.
11. *The Principles and Methods of Discussion*, James H. McBurney and Kenneth G. Hance (Harper and Brothers, New York, 1939). The appendix contains transcripts of an informal group discussion, a panel, and a symposium-forum.
12. *The Student Congress Movement*, Lyman S. Judson, editor (H. W. Wilson Company, New York, 1940). Transcripts of committee discussion and of legislative debate in the 1939 National Student Congress of Delta Sigma Rho.
13. *The University of Chicago Round-Table*, University of Chicago. Weekly stenographic reports of the series of radio panel discussions bearing that name.
14. *Town Meeting*, Bulletin of America's Town Meeting of the Air, Wolcott D. Street, editor, Town Hall, Inc., New York. Stenographic reports of that series of radio symposia and debates. Published weekly for twenty-six consecutive weeks, beginning in October, by Columbia University Press, New York.

Transcripts of Debates

1. *Congressional Record*, Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. Daily journal of legislative discussions and debate in the Senate and the House.

2. *Foundations of Democracy*, Robert Taft and T. V. Smith (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1939). Transcripts of thirteen broadcast debates on political topics.
3. *Intercollegiate Debates*, Egbert Ray Nichols, editor (published annually by Noble and Noble, New York). Transcripts of various forms of intercollegiate debates, together with occasional examples of college discussions.
4. *Modern Speeches on Basic Issues*, Lew Sarett and William Trufant Foster, editors (Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1939). Contains a transcript of a two-man broadcast debate and excerpts from a transcript of an international intercollegiate broadcast debate.
5. *University Debaters' Annual*, Edith M. Phelps, editor (published annually by H. W. Wilson Co., New York). Transcripts of various forms of intercollegiate debates, together with occasional examples of college discussions.

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Note the abbreviation "q." for "quoted."